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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE ORDER OF

CINCINNATUS;

To which are added,

As well ſeveral original papers relative to that inſtitution,

As alſo

A LETTER from the late M. TURGOT,

COMPTROLLER of the FINANCES in FRANCE,

To DR. PRICE,

On the CONSTITUTIONS of AMERICA;

AND AN ABSTRACT of DR. PRICE'S

OBSERVATIONS on the IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION;

With NOTES and REFLECTIONS upon that work.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

THE COUNT DE MIRABEAU.

The glory of ſoldiers cannot be completed, without acting well the part of citizens.

Waſhington's circular Letter.

Populi imperium juxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiæ libidini propior eſt.

Tacitus.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M.DCC.LXXX.V.

RECAP

ADVERTISEMENT.

I NEVER printed any thing before the preſent work, under a name, which my father has rendered it difficult for me to bear. I might be permitted, I thought, not to own the firſt eſſays of a man ſtill young, and who, more than others, requires to be matured.

I had ſtill purſued the ſame line of conduct, and perhaps had never quitted it, but for ſome well-known events which compelled me to quit my country. I then thought it a duty, which I owed

to myſelf, not to publiſh any work in future, that I did not avow. Were I to neglect this precaution, there would not be wanting thoſe who would name me as the author of writings, the beſt calculated to diſhonour me. I proteſt then, that every publication which ſhall henceforth appear without my name, will be falſely aſcribed to me; and I hope to convince thoſe, who honour me with their hatred, that I ſhall not be the more timid for having entered into this engagement.

In the inſtitution of the order of *Cincinnatus*, which is the ſubject of the following tract, a very conſiderable revolution has taken place, of

of which a particular account will be given in the courſe of this work.

The ſociety of the *Cincinnati* was originally hereditary, and remained ſo at the time when I began to write. The members have ſince given up that part of their inſtitution, as will appear by my *Poſtſcript* (1). But as I truſt I have myſelf demonſtrated, that the conſequences of their inſtitution are ſtill the ſame, that their dignity will ſtill continue to be hereditary in opinion, which is the true ſeat of nobility, and that, if the *Cincinnati* be ſuffered to ſubſiſt, it will be impoſſible to prevent their becoming at leaſt perpetual; and,

as

(1) See p. 108 of the following work.

as the part of this work, which concerns the inheritance of honours, contains perhaps ſome new ideas, or at leaſt, ideas expreſſed in a new manner, as well as ſome important inferences, I thought it would be proper to leave this tract in the order, into which it was originally thrown, before the inheritance of the dignity was aboliſhed; a circumſtance, which does not alter the ſtate of the queſtion ſo much, as ſome perſons would affect to believe.

The idea, and indeed the ſubſtance, of this work is taken from a pamphlet but little known in Europe, which appeared at Philadelphia two years ago, under the following

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ing title: *Conſiderations on the ſociety or order of Cincinnati, lately inſtituted by the major-generals, brigadier-generals, and officers of the American army, proving that it creates a race of hereditary patricians or nobility; interſperſed with remarks on its conſequences to the freedom and happineſs of the republic: addreſſed to the people of South-Carolina, and their repreſentatives: by Caſſius. Suppoſed to be written by Ædanus Burke, Eſquire, one of the chief juſtices of the ſtate of South Carolina. Blow ye the trumpet in Zion. Philadelphia, printed for Robert Bell, in Third ſtreet.*

INTRODUCTION.

A SOCIETY compoſed of the generals and officers of the army and navy of the united ſtates of America, has been eſtabliſhed in all the provinces which form the American confederation. This ſociety takes the name of the *Cincinnati*, and has already arrived at a very great degree of maturity. Its ſtrength increaſes every day. It is hereditary, perpetual, richly endowed, and boaſts to have the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages of America, and particularly General Waſhington, amongſt its members.

Beſides the general aſſembly of the ſociety, which has fixed periodical meetings, in every ſtate is to be eſtabliſhed a particular and ſubordinate aſſembly; and theſe again are to be ſubdivided into ſuch diſtricts, as ſhall be directed by the ſtate ſocieties. The general aſſembly is to

meet annually, on the firſt Monday in May, and to continue ſitting as long as the members of the ſociety ſhall think proper.

Independently of theſe annual meetings, an extraordinary aſſembly is to be held, at leaſt once in every three years. The ſtate ſocieties are to meet on the fourth day of July in every year, or oftener, if they ſhall find it expedient.

Major General Baron Steuben is appointed grand-maſter of the order, under the more humble title of preſident(1); and

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(1) The preſent grand-maſter is General Waſhington; as he himſelf declares in a letter to Monſieur de Rochambeau, dated the 29th of Oct. 1783; in which he ſpeaks of the inſtitution of the *Cincinnati* in theſe words:

" SIR,

" THE officers of the American army, " in order to perpetuate that mutual friendſhip which " they contracted in the hour of common danger and " diſtreſs, and for other purpoſes, which are mentioned " in the inſtrument of their Aſſociation, have united " together in a ſociety of friends, under the name of " *Cincinnati*; and, having honoured me with the office " of preſident, it becomes a very agreeable part of my " duty to inform you, that the ſociety have done them-

" ſelves

and each ſtate ſociety, as well as the general meeting, is to chooſe a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurer. The ſtate ſocieties are enjoined to correſpond with each other annually by circular letters. The general meeting of the ſociety is to conſiſt of its officers, and of repreſentatives from each ſtate, not exceeding five in number; whoſe expences are to be borne by the reſpective ſtate ſocieties.

The *Cincinnati* have alſo inſtituted a badge of honour, by which their members are to be known and diſtinguiſhed. It is a medal of gold in the figure of an eagle, with an inſcription on the face and reverſe, alluding

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" ſelves the honour to conſider you, and the generals " and officers of the army which you commanded in " America, as members of the ſociety.

" Major l'Enfant, who will have the honour to deliver " this letter to you, will execute the order of the ſociety " in France, amongſt which he is directed to preſent " you with one of the firſt orders that are made, and " likewiſe with orders for the other gentlemen of your " army, which I take the liberty to requeſt you would " preſent to them in the name of the ſociety. As ſoon " as the diploma is made out, I will have the honour to " tranſmit it to you."

alluding to the time of eſtabliſhing the order, and to their having ſaved the republic. This badge of diſtinction is ſuſpended by a deep blue ribbon edged with white, deſcriptive of the union between America and France. The ribbon and medal are to be worn by each member of the ſociety, in the ſame manner as croſſes, and other inſignia of knighthood, are worn in Europe.

The *Cincinnati* have already conferred the honour and privileges of their order on the French ambaſſador, on the Sieur Gerard, late miniſter plenipotentiary of the court of France, on the French generals and admirals who have fought in the cauſe of America, on the colonels who ſerved on the American continent, and even on the captains of ſhips in the French fleets. So that the government of France has permitted its ſubjects to accept of theſe tokens of adoption into a republic, formed by the inſurrection of diſcontented colonies.

Such is very ſhortly the ſubject of the following conſideration.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE ORDER OF

CINCINNATUS.

AT the close of the eighteenth century, at the very moment when America seemed to open an asylum to mankind, and when a revolution the most astonishing, and perhaps the first which philosophy can approve, fixes the attention of all nations upon the other hemisphere, the society of the *Cincinnati* is established throughout the whole continent of America, without the slightest opposition either on the part of the congress, which represents and rules the American confederation, or on the part of any of the United States, or of any body of men in any one of those states (A); nay, without a single individual's daring to make the smallest observation to his fellow citizens, upon an order, perfectly new in its

kind, and which muſt infallibly and ſpeedily change the face of the country, which gives it birth.

The more I reflect on this inſtitution, and on its inevitable conſequences, the more aſtoniſhed I am, that ſelf-created as it is, deeply planned, ſecretly and rapidly executed, coming upon us in a ſhape at once ſo bold and queſtionable, it awakens not univerſal attention. Could I, for a ſingle moment, view this order with indifference; were it poſſible for my underſtanding, and a ſelfiſh philoſophy, to aſſume ſuch command over my heart, I could not but ſmile to obſerve thoſe Americans, who, in their town-meetings and committees, declaim with acrimony againſt inconſiderable evils, exterminate the feeble remnant of a party, which has loſt all importance, and drive the tories with fury from their coaſts, ſuffering, with the moſt ſupine inattention, an inſtitution to be introduced among them, which muſt ſhortly undermine the public weal, their liberty, and their country; ſtrip the middle and lower ranks of life of all influence, and of all importance; conſign them to the moſt palpable contempt, and reduce them to the completeſt nullity; or,

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at beſt, to the ſad privilege of murmuring, when it will be too late to remedy the evil. So blind, ſo thoughtleſs are the multitude!

What then is this order of *Cincinnatus?* To judge by its external appearance, and by the inſtrument of aſſociation, which has been circulated through the different ſtates, it is only " an *aſſociation, conſtitution,* and *combination* " of the generals and other officers of the " army, who have ſerved three years, or were " deranged by congreſs, into a ſociety of " friends, to perpetuate the remembrance of " the revolution, and their own mutual friend- " ſhip; TO ENDURE AS LONG AS THEY SHALL " ENDURE, OR ANY OF THEIR ELDEST MALE " POSTERITY; and, in failure thereof, THE COL- " LATERAL BRANCHES, WHO MAY BE JUDGED " WORTHY OF BECOMING ITS SUPPORTERS AND " MEMBERS: TO ATTEND INCESSANTLY TO PRE- " SERVE INVIOLATE THOSE EXALTED RIGHTS " AND LIBERTIES OF HUMAN NATURE, for which " they fought and bled: TO PROMOTE AND CHE- " RISH BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE STATES UNI- " ON AND NATIONAL HONOUR: to render per- " manent cordial affection and the ſpirit of bro- " therly kindneſs among the officers: and to ex-

" tend acts of beneficence towards thoſe officers " and their families, who may unfortunately be " under the neceſſity of receiving it." Every member advances a month's pay for this purpoſe; and the inſtitution is of ſuch a nature, that, for the increaſe of its funds, donations are received even from perſons, who are not of the ſociety.

So that, as the deputies, who repreſent each ſtate-ſociety, form by one convocation the general aſſembly, or the congreſs, of this order; in like manner the funds, deſtined to an object of charity or of generoſity, in which all Americans are permitted and invited to concur, form a treaſure at the diſpoſal of the aſſociation (B).

And, to complete its ſtability and ſtrength, the ſociety have eſtabliſhed the following rule: " AS THERE ARE, AND WILL AT ALL TIMES BE, " MEN IN THE RESPECTIVE STATES, EMINENT " FOR THEIR ABILITIES AND PATRIOTISM, " WHOSE VIEWS MAY BE DIRECTED TO THE SAME " LAUDABLE OBJECTS WITH THOSE OF THE *CIN-* " *CINNATI*, IT SHALL BE A RULE TO ADMIT " SUCH CHARACTERS AS HONORARY MEMBERS " OF THE SOCIETY FOR THEIR OWN LIVES ONLY:

"PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT THE NUMBER OF "HONORARY MEMBERS IN EACH STATE DOES "NOT EXCEED A RATIO OF ONE TO FOUR OF "THE OFFICERS, OR THEIR DESCENDANTS."

This deep-laid policy manifeſtly tends to intereſt the chiefs of each ſtate in an aſſociation, from which are tacitly excluded all thoſe members of ſociety, whoſe poverty (which even in republics is real plebeianiſm) ſtifles their talents, and deprives them of reſpect. Thus the man of the people, and of the army, General Waſhington, is already an honorary member of the order (C), which, to guard its exiſtence no doubt from attacks, ſollicits recruits and ſupporters in all the monarchies of Europe. His natural caution, which ſeems to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, and the firſt merit, of this celebrated man, kept him neutral between his country and the *Cincinnati*, only while the aſſociation was not completely formed. On the very day when the adoption of honorary members was voted, Waſhington, who had appeared ſo great, declaring that he would become again a private individual; Waſhington, the firſt citizen of the republic, and the deliverer of the people, was ambitious of being

diſtinguiſhed from that people. Was it poſſible that he ſhould not feel how much his name was ſuperior to all diſtinction? The hero of the revolution, which broke the chains of half the world, was it poſſible that he ſhould not ſcorn the guilty, dangerous, and vulgar honour, of being the hero of a party?

If the honorary adoption of the moſt eminent men in the ſtate be a politic and formidable combination, the ſame depth of policy is to be found in the ſingular proportion, which the inſtrument of aſſociation eſtabliſhes between the honorary and the other members of the order. The *Cincinnati* have taken care that the honorary members ſhould not conſtitute above a fifth part of their body. They have taken care to have the people under their controul, by means of thoſe, to whom the government is entruſted, and to reſerve to themſelves a power of overawing that government by their numbers and their military force.

Military force has been the ſole object of their thoughts, becauſe it was the mighty inſtrument of their projects. With this view it was, that the inheritance of honour was reſerved to

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none but military men. In the true ſpirit of a prætorian band, they ſcrupled not to be unjuſt towards the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their coadjutors, who were prevented from taking arms by duties no leſs important. They have preſumed to judge that the glory of the head ought to be ſubordinate to that of the arm, and that the deſcendants of . . . . . .
. . . . . ſufficiently honoured by a temporary diſtinction, ought afterwards to be confounded in the vulgar maſs of plebeians (D).

Perhaps, indeed, they would totally caſt off thoſe wiſe and magnanimous citizens, ſo truly worthy to be the founders of ſtates; perhaps they dread their far-ſighted wiſdom.

Not but that I am fully convinced, that very many of the officers, who have not narrowly examined the ſpirit and the conſequences of the inſtitution, are actuated by none but the moſt honourable motives of patriotiſm, friendſhip, and humanity, which they conſider as the baſis of their union, not to ſay their league.

But as there are among them many, equal in knowledge and abilities to the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in America, it is very diffi-

cult to conceive, that none of them ſhould have ſeen farther into the nature of ſo ſerious an innovation. Such indifference, ſuch blindneſs in a nation, who have but newly won their liberty by the ſword, is ſurely not in nature.

I will not fear then to ſpeak, and to ſpeak out boldly, in the face of America, and of the world. I will not fear to rouſe my fellow citizens to this important object. Perhaps I may yet diſpel that illuſion, which faſcinates thoſe, who, not intending it, are overturning the conſtitution of their country, and are incurring the guilt of a crime which they little ſuſpect. If they are ſtill worthy of that liberty, which they have defended, they will acknowledge the ſervice with gratitude, and will rejoice to be delivered from an involuntary error. I will not fear to ſay;

The inſtitution of the order of *Cincinnatus*, ſuch as in their own words I have ſtated it to be, is the creation of an actual patriciate, and of a military nobility, which will, ere long, become a civil nobility, and an ariſtocracy the more dangerous, becauſe, being hereditary, it will perpetually

petually increaſe in the courſe of time, and will gather ſtrength from the very prejudices which it will engender: becauſe, originating neither in the conſtitution nor the law, the law has provided no means to control it, and it will inceſſantly overbear the conſtitution, of which it forms no part; till the time ſhall come, when, by repeated attempts made, ſometimes clandeſtinely, and ſometimes openly, it will, at length, have incorporated itſelf into the conſtitution, or when, after having for a long time ſapped its foundations, it will in the end overturn and utterly deſtroy it.

If this be doubted, let us appeal to hiſtory; and let us trace the origin and progreſs of ſimilar eſtabliſhments. Obſerve the Roman ariſtocracy, which cauſed ſuch devaſtation. Its ſource is ſcarcely diſcernable. A ſociety of men, living in the pureſt ſimplicity, of perfect equality in their fortunes, and poſſeſſed of ſo little, that the landed property of each did not exceed two acres, choſe a few old men for their magiſtrates. The only diſtinction of theſe magiſtrates was their age, their experience, and the love which they were preſumed to bear towards the people. Hence they received

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the name of FATHERS (*Patres*). Soon the deſcendants of theſe plain and ruſtic men conſidered themſelves as diſtinct from their fellow citizens, nouriſhed high pretenſions, aſſumed excluſive privileges, formed confederacies between particular families, and cemented them by inter-marriages (E); and this policy alone, without titles or enſigns of honour, eſtabliſhed in Rome a body of nobility, ſo enflamed with the luſt of dominion (F), that upon the expulſion of their kings, the people gained ſcarce any thing by the revolution, which, for the moſt part, they had themſelves accompliſhed. For the patrician families having united in their own hands the power of the monarch, and the influence of the nobles, each patrician became a Tarquin, and Rome enjoyed no more political liberty than it had done before (G); with this difference, however, that the tyranny now reſided in a body, and that a thouſand tyrants are a ſcourge a thouſand times more dreadful and more formidable than a ſingle tyrant. For a ſingle tyrant is under the reſtraint of ſelf-intereſt, or the control of remorſe, or public opinion; but a body of men looks not to its intereſt, feels not remorſe, and decks itſelf with glory, when it moſt deſerves diſgrace.

Thus

Thus did the PATRICIATE grow up in Rome, and ſuch was its origin; an origin as much inferior to the inſtitution of the *Cincinnati* as the chiefs of a banditti, living upon plunder, and building hovels upon the ſoil where Rome now ſtands, were inferior to a body of ſuch illuſtrious commanders as Waſhington, Green, Gates, Moultrie, Waynes, and many others, who have been entruſted with the defence and the political intereſts of a mighty nation, of a nation well ſeen in all the arts of war and peace, and maintaining from the firſt hour of its political exiſtence a diſtinguiſhed rank amidſt the powers of the earth. If the patricians of Rome, in the infancy of the republic, may be compared to a ſcanty ſpring, which is yet the parent of a deſolating river, the *Cincinnati* are the river already formed, large, deep, and terrible.

As to the nobility of modern Europe, what were they in their origin? The chiefs of ferocious warriors, who united barbarity of conqueſt with barbarity of manners; whoſe firſt rights were thoſe of uſurpation (H) and plunder, and who founded their pre-eminence merely upon the command, which they exerciſed in war. Thus was the field of battle the nurſery

of

of this nobility: a ſingular, a ſtriking, and an alarming feature of reſemblance with the order of the *Cincinnati*.

Hence iſſued forth that ſwarm of counts, dukes, and marquiſes, which over-ran and deſolated Europe. All thoſe titles of human vanity were, in their origin, nothing more than military titles, denoting different degrees of command; but ſoon they became ſplendid diſtinctions and privileges in civil life. Soon they laid the foundation of that barbarous feodal ſyſtem, which for ages debaſed all human kind, converted whole nations into herds of ſlaves, and a few individuals into broods of tyrants.

POSTERI! POSTERI! VESTRA RES AGITUR—was an inſcription carved at Naples upon a pillar erected after an eruption of mount Veſuvius, in which many thouſand inhabitants periſhed: an inſcription which I would have engraved upon the inſignia of the fatal order which is inſtituting amongſt us.

Yes, it is that nobility of barbarians, the price of blood, the offſpring of the ſword, the

fruit

fruit of conqueſt, that the *Cincinnati* deſire to eſtabliſh in their country, which notwithſtanding they have not conquered, and which confided in them for its defence! The diſtinctions of Celts and Oſtrogoths are what they claim for their inheritance! Honours, invented by the chiefs of ſavages, are objects of ambition to the heros of a free people, and of an enlightened age! They uſurp the patriciate of victory! They uſurp it; and, in the very creation of their order, mingle with it that corruptive refinement, which the progreſs of feodal principles introduced into Europe, decorations and inſignia! the eternal badges of party to the factious! the ſeeds of contagious vanity among one claſs of citizens, and of ſervile ſubordination among the reſt! the never-failing ſources of corruption to human nature!

If one conſider all thoſe orders of knighthood, which the *Cincinnati* affect to imitate in the new world, and in the heart of a republic, almoſt all of them will be found to have originated in abſurdity, baſeneſs, or ſuperſtition. I leave the detail to hiſtory (l), and proceed to diſplay the effects of theſe inſtitutions.

Not

Not even the contempt which their origin ought to have provoked, has been able to prevent the pride and mean vanity of man from eagerly graſping at theſe new honours. They have become a freſh token of inequality; a new mark, which capriciouſly eſtabliſhes additional ranks and excluſions in ſtates, where the common maſs of citizens is already overloaded, diſhonoured, and abaſhed by numberleſs civil diſtinctions. They have created ranks even among the nobility, founded a new patriciate among patricians, a new pride in pride itſelf, and new means of oppreſſion in the midſt of oppreſſion. A part of theſe haughty patricians, of theſe deſcendants of warriors and Gothic tyrants, are become themſelves a kind of populace compared with thoſe of their order, whom the prince's grace, his accidental favour, or a ſlaviſh compliance with the caprice of courts, has decorated with theſe tinſel ornaments. Theſe, in fine, are the enſigns, which, in every ſtate in Europe, have marſhalled around the throne new inſtruments of deſpotiſm, ever ready to ſacrifice the rights of nations to the expectations of their own vanity, and to ſell a people for a ribband (K).

Such

Such is the fatal power of opinion, and of the little paſſions of the human heart, that the moſt trivial ornaments have helped to rivet the chains of nations, and have ennobled and rewarded the ſervitude of the great, the better to aggravate the ſervitude of the poor; that even the colour of a ribband, and the form of a ſtar, affect the character and diſpoſitions of men's minds, excite reſpect or meanneſs in ſome, and pride in others; widen or contract the diſtances between men, and ſeem to bring forward glaring to the ſight that artificial inequality which uſurpation and inſolence originally impreſſed upon the imaginations of the weak and abject. Hence the ſpectacle ſo frequent from one end of Europe to the other, the ſpectacle ſo indecent, ſo ſcandalous, of a good man compelled to bow down his head before the enſigns of honour, proſtituted to men the moſt diſhonourable, while he who bears them is ſometimes angry with himſelf for the ſhame he feels, and is ſhocked that he can ſtill bluſh.

Such, we may be aſſured, are the evils which threaten our poſterity, and of which the firſt ſeed is now ſown, in the imitation of the dangerous European inſtitution of a nobility, compoſed

poſed originally of a troop of robbers and aſſaſſins, and recruited from time to time with public defaulters, and plunderers of the people (L).

For if a nobility founded merely on an abſtract diſtinction, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, poſſeſs ſuch powers of corruption, and of ſtimulating the deſire, and facilitating the means, of dominion; if it can gradually ſo temper men's minds to ſlavery or tyranny; what conſequences are not to be dreaded from the ſame nobility, when to its pre-eminence are added external ornaments, and viſible diſtinctions?

Man is naturally attached to forms: he conſtantly aſſociates the ſign with the idea it repreſents, and often ſubſtitutes the one for the other. He is ſo enſlaved to outward ſigns, that an exact conformity with eſtabliſhed forms is, in his eſtimation, far more important than ſincere ſentiments, virtuous motives, or generous actions, which appear only in their natural form, and diſdain alike the falſehood of an aſſumed deportment, and that of a hypocritical exaggeration. Hence proceed prejudices, dependence, ſervile imitation, and uniformity of

manners,

manners, opinions, and habits, the conſtant fore-runners of ſlavery.

An unconquerable and high-minded pride; a firm and untameable courage; a freedom of principle and of thought, which bends only to reaſon, and repels all other empire; an independence, which yields neither to the pleaſures, nor to the pains of opinion; pleaſures moſt deluſive, and pains moſt pungent in the ſeaſon of the paſſions, becauſe with the paſſions they correſpond or claſh: ſuch is the ſoul of a republican. To die rather than change: ſuch is his motto. He is pledged to nature, his country, and himſelf, to endure every preſent, and to diſregard every future evil, rather than bend the knee a ſingle moment; to trample under foot every thing that ſhakes his principles, or obſtructs his duties; to ſacrifice all to theſe; fortune, affections, paſſions, glory itſelf; to reject all protectors diſguiſed under the name of friends; to be no man's who is not his; aſſiſtance for aſſiſtance; zeal for zeal; friendſhip for friendſhip; but above all liberty, virtue, and his country: to declare his ſentiments openly by words or actions; to regard as illuſory with reſpect to himſelf all that he finds not

within himſelf, all that depends only on opinion, every thing that his reaſon does not confirm, or his heart approve; to value himſelf only upon his firmneſs in maintaining his own rights, and his juſtice in reſpecting thoſe of others; in a word to be himſelf, to be himſelf alone, and to eſteem himſelf for nothing but what is his own. . . . What has ſuch a man as this to do with inſignia, with forms, diſtinctions, conventional ſuperiorities, excluſive privileges, and factitious homage? They can only ſerve to ſhock and afflict, or to weaken and corrupt him.

All external ſigns are formidable, and produce a great effect upon the weak imaginations of men. By ſtriking their ſight one may at pleaſure inſpire them with any paſſions. By external ſigns it is that religion, fanaticiſm, ſovereignty, rebellion, and faction, maintain an aſcendant over the underſtandings of men, and hurry away a headlong multitude whoſe ſenſes overpower their reaſon. By external ſigns have been prepared and accompliſhed many ſtate revolutions, in favour as well of liberty as of tyranny. External ſigns muſter in a moment under the ſame banner thouſands of men who

were

were but now diſperſed; inſpire them with one will, one ſoul; and precipitate them all together towards one and the ſame object.

But external ſigns are the more powerful in proportion as they awaken ideas more or leſs noble, more or leſs calculated to ſtrike the imagination, and agitate the ſoul. In our caſe what are the ideas united to the inſtitution of the order? Thoſe of battles and of victories, of blood ſhed for one's country, of tyrants vanquiſhed, and of public liberty protected by the ſword! . . . . . .

What an influence muſt ſuch ideas, manifeſted by a token viſible to all men, have, as well upon thoſe, whom it will conſtantly remind of their own or of their anceſtors glory, as upon the ordinary claſs of men, whom every ſpecies of glory, even that which is not founded on real ſervices, dazzles and awes into a kind of adoration! Is there, I would be told, in the annals of all mankind, any nobility whoſe origin can boaſt ſuch ſplendid titles? But the brighter their ſplendor, the more reaſon have I to fear for my country. The nobler the ideas, with which theſe viſible diſtinctions are aſſociated,

the more ought I to dread, that they will eſtabliſh among us a new order of citizens, incompatible with our conſtitutions and our laws.

All diſtinguiſhing ſigns, which may ſerve ſuddenly to aſſemble a numerous body of men, which may create a partial intereſt in the public intereſt, which may ſeparate a certain number of citizens from the body of their fellow-citizens, are by their effects much more formidable in a republic than in a monarchy, of which ſlavery, more or leſs wretched, more or leſs diſguiſed, is, after all, the maſter-piece, and the everlaſting ſcope (M).

In a monarchy every thing tends to elevation: in a republic every thing ought to tend to equality. In the former, ranks are neceſſary: in the latter, virtues. In the one it is good that the citizens be divided into diſtinct bodies: their partial intereſts may ſupply the place of the general intereſt; their emulation, even by being a ſource of diviſion, may render them uſeful, and cannot be dangerous, becauſe it is confined on every ſide by the weight of ſovereign authority. But in the other, whatever divides, weakens; whatever riſes above the

the common level, weighs down the reſt: there muſt be but one body, and one intereſt: nothing muſt govern, and every thing muſt be equally governed: every citizen muſt ſee nothing beneath him but vice, nothing above him but the law.

External marks of diſtinction are naturaliſed in monarchies, and their influence is, from this very circumſtance, the leſs dangerous. There, all is pomp and pageantry, from the monarch's throne, through all thoſe intermediate ranks, which fill up the interval between him and the people, down to the private ſoldier, who defends or deſtroys the ſtate. But all outward marks of diſtinction are repugnant to the ſpirit of a republic. Liberty has an elevated pride, which all diſtinctions offend. In her preſence nothing muſt be eminently conſpicuous: all muſt be confounded in one undiſtinguiſhed maſs. She cannot even behold theſe ornaments without terror: if they are worn by only one deſcription of citizens, her terror redoubles. To diſpel her fear, there is but one expedient; that of degrading the honours themſelves by the proſtitution of them. But if the ſolitary body of men, who dare thus to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their fellow-citizens, be a body of ſoldiers, all is loſt. Li-

berty will not linger long in climates difgraced by fuch diftinctions.

What! when in the republics of antiquity, the victorious warrior was impatient to throw off all diftinctions, and to mingle in the crowd of citizens! when he was eager to extinguifh his glory, and to change for the garb of peace his warlike habiliments, ftained with his own blood, and adorned with the blood of the enemy! What! when even the empire of violence takes alarm at military diftinctions! When under the legionary defpotifm of the emperors, the heroes of the laft ages of Rome were fearful of appalling by their victories a tyranny, which had no foundation but that of arms, and mixing in the throng of flaves, endeavoured by their modefty to obtain forgivenefs of their victories! What! when in England, of which we have but juft thrown off the yoke, and which ought at leaft to inftruct us by its example, liberty jealous of every thing thinks it neceffary to keep its troops far from the bofom of the ifland, and, by its laws and the fpirit of its conftitution, weakens, as much as may be, that general refpect, which in the reft of Europe is paid to the profeffion of arms!.... Shall there amongft us, in a new-born ftate, in

a common-wealth, which recalls man as much as poſſible to the primitive rights of nature and of liberty, ten thouſand warriors, at the very moment when their country no longer needs their aſſiſtance, as if they had conquered for themſelves alone, endeavour to erect themſelves into a durable, or rather an immortal body in the ſtate! create for themſelves an hereditary diſtinction, unauthoriſed by law! ſeek to live in the lateſt poſterity! exact as it were reſpect and homage from generations yet unborn! dare to eſtabliſh a common mark of diſtinction for themſelves, and all their deſcendants, by which the whole body may be known, and may be marſhalled together, at a moment's warning, from one end of America to another!

Aſſuredly, if we had not reaſon to eſteem, as we do, our gallant defenders; if we were not perſuaded that in this project they have been miſled by an error incident to great ſouls, by the enthuſiaſm and by the intoxication of glory; we ſhould not heſitate to point them out to the new world, and to its dawning liberty, as the moſt formidable of enemies. Thank heaven, they ſtill love freedom and their country; that freedom which they have vindicated, that country which they have

reſcued from its tyrants. But even their ſentiments and their virtues cannot quiet our alarms. Thoſe virtues, will they too be hereditary? Will they be tranſmitted to their deſcendants, together with their titles and their orders? Thoſe virtues, which are at preſent kept alive by the rouſed attention of either hemiſphere, by the ſucceſsful fanaticiſm of a mighty revolution, by recent ſcenes of glory, by the gratitude of a whole people, by the deep-fixed remembrance of oppreſſions and of wrongs; by wounds which ſtill bleed, and will not for a long time be cloſed; by the pride of conſcious worth, which cannot bear the thought of falſifying its character: thoſe virtues, will they not be weakened of neceſſity by removal from the cauſes of them; by the ſlow but inevitable corruption of time; by the more rapid corruption of affluence and luxury; by the lethargy of peace, which relaxes every energy? For, it is but too certain, the greateſt danger to republics, is to have no danger to dread. Will they reſiſt the ſeduction of power, that eternal diſeaſe of man, who is weary of obedience as ſoon as he deſcries the means of command? of man, who demands equality, but whom all equality torments, and who ſtruggles perpetually to ſhun it? Thoſe vir-

virtues, in ſhort, will they reſiſt the aſcendant of that inſtitution, which I am bold to combat? For every inſtitution has in its very eſſence a certain inſurmountable force, tending to good or evil, according to the direction given it at its creation; a force often inſcrutable in its origin, which unfolds itſelf by degrees, which prevails at all times, tempers different characters, and directs or produces events; a force the more irreſiſtible, becauſe it exiſts altogether in the nature of things, and is almoſt entirely independent of perſons, whom it ſometimes commands and hurries away, without their even ſuſpecting its influence.

Thus was it that in Rome the pre-eminence conferred on a few old men prepared the way for all the madneſs of the ariſtocracy, the eſtabliſhment of tribunes, the perpetual claſhing of patricians and plebeians, the transfer of the legiſlative power to ten magiſtrates, the tyranny of the decemviri, the right of governing the provinces for many years ſucceſſively, the venality of the army, which then had only chiefs, and no longer a country, and which was at all times ready to ſupport every ſanguinary faction: till, at length, the eſtabliſhment of a civil

and

and military chief under the name of emperor, who was, after all, only the too powerful head of a too-powerful ariſtocracy (N), by ſeeming to reſtore order, ſubverted the firmeſt and beſt conſtituted common-wealth, and prepared the way for times the moſt horrible, that are recorded in the hiſtory of nations; times when human nature exhauſted all that tyranny can dare, or ſlavery can endure.

Such is the ſecret force of inſtitutions, which nothing can check, and which advance unſeen, but with a certain progreſs, towards an end which is inevitable, and which is often unperceived even to their founders. It is this all-powerful force, which, in the preſent inſtitution of the *Cincinnati*, prepares for us, without their knowledge, and againſt their will (yes: it is what they could not prevent, were they ſo inclined, but by ſelf-deſtruction), which prepares for us a patriciate, an hereditary, or a perpetual nobility; or, in other words, the total ſubverſion of our conſtitution, and our laws: for, after having conſidered the alarming effects of this inſtitution, after having ſeen what it is in its origin, and what it may and neceſſarily muſt become, it is now time to bring it to the teſt of

our

our conſtitution, and of the principles adopted in our laws.

The delegates, the repreſentatives, the legiſlators of the nations of America, have taken for the baſis of their inſurrection, of their labours, of their claims, of their rights, and of their laws, EQUALITY. By this right it is that they have claimed "*among the powers of the earth the* "*ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of* "*nature, and of nature's God entitle them* (1)." All the ſtates of the confederation have declared in their conſtitutions, that "*men are born free* "*and* EQUAL (2); *and have certain natural, eſſen-* "*tial, and unalienable rights*," of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive their poſterity; "that all government of right ori- "ginates

(1) "When, in the courſe of human events, it becomes "neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands "which have connected them with another, and to aſſume "among the powers of the earth the ſeparate and EQUAL "STATION, to which the laws of nature, and of na- "ture's God entitle them, *&c.*" *Declaration of independence, July 4th,* 1776.

(2) *Maſſachuſetts conſtitution, part I. art. I. Pennſylvania conſtitution, chap. I. art. I.* &c.

" ginates from THE PEOPLE (3); that no autho-
" rity can be exerciſed over THE PEOPLE, but
" ſuch as ſhall be derived from and granted by
" THE PEOPLE (4); that the ſeveral magiſtrates
" and officers of government, veſted with autho-
" rity, whether legiſlative, executive, or judi-
" cial, are the truſtees, ſubſtitutes, agents, and
" ſervants of THE PEOPLE (5), AND ARE AT ALL
" TIMES ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE (6);
" that the end of the inſtitution, maintenance,
" and adminiſtration of all government (which
" is, and ought to be inſtituted only for the
" common benefit, protection, and ſecurity of
" THE PEOPLE, NATION, OR COMMUNITY, and
" not for the particular emolument of any *ſingle*
" *man, family*, OR SET OF MEN, who are a part
" only of that (7) COMMUNITY), is to ſecure the
" exiſt-

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(3) *Delaware declaration of rights, art. I. Maryland declaration of rights, art. I. and the conſtitutions of the other ſtates*, paſſim.

(4) *New York conſtitution, art. I. and the other conſtitutions*, paſſim.

(5) *Maſſachuſetts conſtitution, part I. art. V. Pennſylvania conſtitution, chap. I. art. IV. Delaware declaration of rights, art. V. Maryland declaration of rights, art. IV.*

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Pennſylvania conſtitution, chap. I. art. V.*

" exiſtence of the body-politic, to protect it,
" and to furniſh THE INDIVIDUALS WHO COM-
" POSE IT with the power of enjoying, in ſafety
" and tranquillity, THEIR NATURAL RIGHTS;
" that every body-politic is formed, in the firſt
" place, by a voluntary aſſociation of indivi-
" duals, who have entered into a mutual en-
" gagement; and, in the next place, by a ſocial
" compact, in which THE WHOLE PEOPLE COVE-
" nants with EACH CITIZEN, and EACH CITIZEN
" with the WHOLE PEOPLE, that all ſhall be go-
" verned by certain laws, IN ONE UNIFORM
" MANNER (8), for the COMMON GOOD (9);
" THAT THE RIGHT IN THE PEOPLE TO PARTI-
" CIPATE IN THE LEGISLATURE IS THE BEST
" SECURITY OF LIBERTY, AND THE FOUNDA-
" TION OF ALL FREE GOVERNMENT (10); that,
" WHENEVER THE ENDS OF GOVERNMENT ARE
" PERVERTED, THE PEOPLE MAY, AND OF RIGHT
" OUGHT TO, REFORM THE OLD, OR ESTABLISH
" A NEW GOVERNMENT; the doctrine of non-
" reſiſtance againſt arbitrary power and oppreſ-
ſion

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(8) *Virginia conſtitution, art. XVI.*

(9) *Preamble to the conſtitutions of Maſſachuſetts and Pennſylvania.*

(10) *Maryland declaration of rights, art. V.*

" ſion being abſurd, ſlaviſh, and deſtructive of
" the good and happineſs of mankind (11)."

Such are the general principles of the federate union of America, faithfully tranſcribed from their conſtitution (O). I open the codes of the reſpective ſtates, and I read theſe words:

" MONOPOLIES ARE ODIOUS, CONTRARY TO
" THE SPIRIT OF A FREE GOVERNMENT . . . .
" AND OUGHT NOT TO BE SUFFERED (12).——
" NO MAN, OR SET OF MEN, ARE INTITLED TO
" EXCLUSIVE OR SEPARATE EMOLUMENTS, OR
" PRIVILEGES, FROM THE COMMUNITY (3) (P).
" EVERY FREEMAN, TO PRESERVE HIS INDEPEN-
" DENCE (IF WITHOUT A SUFFICIENT ESTATE),
" OUGHT TO HAVE SOME PROFESSION, CALLING,
" TRADE, OR FARM, WHEREBY HE MAY HO-
" NESTLY SUBSIST. THERE CAN BE NO NECES-
" SITY FOR, NOR USE IN ESTABLISHING OFFICES
" OF PROFIT; THE USUAL EFFECTS OF WHICH
" ARE

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(11) *Maryland declaration of rights, art. IV. Delaware declaration of rights, art. V.*

(12) *Maryland declaration of rights, art. XXXIX.*

(13) *North Carolina declaration of rights, art. III.*

" ARE DEPENDENCE AND SERVILITY, UNBE-
" COMING FREEMEN, IN THE POSSESSORS AND
" EXPECTANTS; FACTION, CONTENTION, COR-
" RUPTION, AND DISORDER AMONG THE PEO-
" PLE (14). WHENEVER AN OFFICE, THROUGH
" INCREASE OF FEES OR OTHERWISE, BECOMES SO
" PROFITABLE AS TO OCCASION MANY TO APPLY
" FOR IT, THE PROFITS OUGHT TO BE LESSENED
" BY THE LEGISLATURE (15).—TITLES BEING IN
" NATURE NEITHER HEREDITARY NOR TRANS-
" MISSIBLE TO CHILDREN OR DESCENDANTS, OR
" RELATIONS BY BLOOD, THE IDEA OF A MAN
" BORN A MAGISTRATE, LAWGIVER, OR JUDGE,
" IS ABSURD AND UNNATURAL (16).——IT
" IS DANGEROUS TO ESTABLISH AN ARIS-
" TOCRACY (17).——NO TITLE OF NOBILITY
" OR HEREDITARY HONOURS OUGHT TO BE
" GRANTED (18)."

Natural equality: political equality: civil equality. Such then is the doctrine of the legiſlators

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(14) *Pennſylvania conſtitution, chap. II. art. XXXVI.*

(15) Ibid.

(16) *Maſſachuſetts conſtitution, part I. art. VI.*

(17) *Pennſylvania conſtitution, part II. art. XIX.*

(18) *Maryland declaration of rights, art. XL, and the other conſtitutions,* paſſim.

lators of America (Q). If they could not foreſee that kind of conſpiracy, which has brought forth the order of *Cincinnati*, they were well aware, at leaſt, of that ambitious vanity, which has given it birth, and in every point of view they have proſcribed it.

NO MONOPOLIES: THEY ARE ODIOUS.—What monopoly can be more fatal, more hoſtile to the ſpirit of a common-wealth, than that of reſpect, of influence, and of power? What monopoly is more unjuſt, and more alarming, than that, which forms an illegal aſſociation, confers unconſtitutional privileges, and excluſive enſigns of honour, than that, in ſhort, which incorporates into a body ten thouſand of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in America?

THE IDEA OF A MAN BORN A MAGISTRATE, LAWGIVER, OR JUDGE, IS ABSURD AND UNNATURAL.—That of a man born the protector of his country is ſtill more ſo.

NO OFFICES OF PROFIT, NO SEPARATE EMOLUMENTS.—Thoſe diſtinctions, that confer honours and power, with which money is ſoon acquired (though money alone in countries which have

have not yet ſunk to the loweſt degree of corruption, will not always procure power), will more effectually deſtroy equality, and more eaſily provoke the rapacity of ſoldiers, than offices of profit.

NO TITLES OF NOBILITY: NO HEREDITARY HONOURS . . . . . AN ARISTOCRACY MUST BE DANGEROUS AND INCONVENIENT.— I have already proved that the inſtitution of the *Cincinnati*, or, in other words, an aſſociation of military officers, diſtinguiſhed by brilliant ſervices, and poſſeſſing the excluſive right of wearing, and of tranſmitting to their poſterity, the enſigns and the privileges of the order, which they confer upon themſelves, into which too they admit foreign fellow-ſoldiers, men ſubject to other laws, accuſtomed to other manners, and prejudiced in favour of other governments; I have proved, I ſay, that ſuch a union among citizens of a common-wealth, who ought to be equal, and who thus aſſume a real ſuperiority over their fellow-citizens, and take party ſignals, to whatever motives it be aſcribed, with whatever ſpecious names it be decorated, is not in fact, nor can by its conſequences, be any thing but the inſtitution of

an HEREDITARY NOBILITY, the creation of a peerage in favour of the *Cincinnati*, and the heirs male of their bodies, with remainder in default of ſuch iſſue to their collateral heirs.

The *Cincinnati* are then NOBLES, ARISTOCRATICS, actual Patricians, TRUE PEERS OF THE REALM: *PARES REGNI.*

Nor do the particular laws of each ſtate alone inhibit an order of men and of things, ſo deſtructive of equality: the ſixth article of the general confederation, the fundamental law of the political exiſtence of the American ſtates, contains this expreſs proviſion:

NOR SHALL THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, NOR ANY OF THEM, GRANT ANY TITLE OF NOBILITY.

The order of *Cincinnatus* then uſurps and confers a nobility, which is neither granted, nor permitted by the law; it confers it in violation and in defiance of the ordinances of the congreſs, and of the ſtates, which have denied themſelves any ſuch power. It declares war againſt its country.

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What though the inſtitution have not received, nor can yet receive, the ſanction of the legiſlature, that circumſtance only renders its conſequences the more alarming. For had the order of *Cincinnatus* been created by the congreſs (R), or by the particular legiſlatures of the United States, it would have mortally wounded the conſtitution, it is true; but it would have wounded it in a legal manner, and we ſhould, at leaſt, have known, what theſe *Cincinnati*, theſe earls, dukes, and peers, ſanctioned by congreſs, were to be. We ſhould have circumſcribed their pretenſions, and limited the extent of their excluſive privileges, and of their authority. But the *Cincinnati* are ſelf-created. Like the deſpots who hold their power by no other tenure than their will and their ſword, they were warriors, and would brook no limits to their pretenſions: they would owe nothing but to the ambitious terms, which they alone had dictated, and to the exiſtence, which they had created for themſelves, and their poſterity.

Inſtituted by a manifeſt infringement of a fundamental law of the union, if once they be permitted to exiſt, they will not want the ſanction

of law to inſure their ſtability. Courage and firmneſs cannot fail them. If they reſiſt with perſeverance the feeble oppoſition which they may encounter; if they perſuade the world that their inſtitution is only a flattering and unimportant ornament (and ſuch is the judgment of the vulgar); if they have but patience, dexterity, ſubtilty, and pliability enough to conceal their deep deſigns under the pious title, and the alluring diſguiſe, of a charitable ſubſcription, ſo as but to gain the point of being tolerated for a few years; if even, with a deference, the mere creature of policy, they conſent, or be conſtrained, to modify the inſtitution, which, with wonderful addreſs, they have founded in perpetuity, they will ſoon be able to bid open defiance to all opponents. For the ſmalleſt branch of this inſtitution cannot be endured without, as it were, communicating life to every part of it. To indemnify the *Cincinnati* for having diſtinguiſhed themſelves from their fellow-citizens, to allow them to wear thoſe diſtinctions, though but for a time, and to form a diſtinct body, though but for a moment, and merely for a charitable purpoſe, will be to reward a violation of the laws of the common-wealth, and to ſanctify a crime, which calls for puniſhment. It

will

will be impoſſible to prevent the luſtre of hereditary honour from reflecting on the poſterity of the *Cincinnati*. The medal, which their deſcendants muſt not preſume to wear, will be carefully preſerved in each family's domeſtic treaſury, and will tranſmit and perpetuate a ſentiment of pride, which will prevent them from marrying into the families of their fellow-citizens, their equals, and, perhaps, their ſuperiors in merit, but who will not be ſo fortunate as to have had anceſtors among the officers of the army at the time of the revolution. Theſe kinds of inequality, founded on a childiſh vanity, which obſtruct the natural courſe of honourable love, which keep aſunder thoſe, whom heaven ſeems to have formed for each other, and who cannot find in any other connection that happineſs which their affections promiſed them, form one of the cruëleſt calamities that afflicts Europe, and which by marriages, both phyſically and morally ill-combined, depraves generations, and thoſe moſt, which are the moſt illuſtrious, and which are thus puniſhed for their pride, without being cured of it. The ſame cauſes will ever produce the ſame effects. The next generation of the *Cincinnati* will be as deeply intoxicated with the pre-eminence of

its blood; the patriciate will be as firmly rooted in each potent family, and as completely incorporated into the government, as any other order of nobility in any of the kingdoms of Europe. A keen and fervid ambition, the luſt of power, and the extravagance of pride, have planted this mighty tree, whoſe branches will ſoon overſhadow tyranny. It is the ſpirit of nobility always to conſider itſelf as alone conſtituting ſociety. In leſs than a century this inſtitution, which draws a line of ſeparation between the deſcendants of the *Cincinnati* and their fellow-citizens, will have cauſed ſo great an inequality, that the country which now contains none but citizens, perfectly equal in the eye of the conſtitution and of the law, will conſiſt altogether of two claſſes of men; PATRICIANS: and PLEBEIANS.

Such is the natural, imminent, and infallible effect of an eſtabliſhment, whoſe upſtart origin and anti-republican tendency, afford us the moſt melancholy proſpect of futurity. To create a nobility, to violate, and conſequently to deſtroy our conſtitution, at the very moment when we are taking our political flight upon the wings of liberty, what is it but

a kind

a kind of ſacrilege, and a guilty profanation of that liberty, which heaven has permitted us to aſſert? what is it but to pervert the bleſſings of providence to our own deſtruction?

No: I do not deceive myſelf. Every circumſtance conſpires to eſtabliſh and confirm the force of this aſſociation.

THE NUMBER OF ITS MEMBERS—which already amounts to near ten thouſand (S); and the order openly declares an intention of adopting all thoſe who ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by *their talents*, and *their reputation*; that is to ſay, all whoſe offices, authority, or other qualifications, will bring reſpect to the order. If each member have but perſonal influence enough to command three retainers faithful to his intereſts, his principles, and his opinions (and the calculation cannot be thought extravagant), in a moment we ſee embodied a band of forty thouſand choſen men, which will increaſe with every generation. To whom will they not give the law?

MILITARY FORCE—which is of all others the moſt fatal to equality. Numerous, warlike,

taught by actual ſervice every advantage or diſadvantage of their country, for attack or defence, and even the perſonal characters of all their fellow-ſoldiers whom they have commanded. Superior to the reſt of their fellow-citizens, ſuperior even to the laws, which their very exiſtence inſults, and proves to be impotent, what ſcruples will they, or need they, entertain? The power and authority of the different bodies of the republic, and of the different branches of the legiſlature, will increaſe or diminiſh at their pleaſure. If any ambitious leader, if any powerful faction ſhall threaten the freedom of the commons; if the congreſs itſelf, under political circumſtances, which it is not barely poſſible, but eaſy to foreſee, ſhall come to have a revenue, a fleet, and an army at its diſpoſal, and ſhall make an attempt on our liberties, will the *Cincinnati* purſue any other line of conduct than that which will the beſt ſuit their own armed order? And will not their weight of neceſſity preponderate?

Respect—neceſſarily attendant upon great ſervices rendered to the ſtate, and upon the grateful memory of brilliant actions exaggerated by national pride, and by the natural avidity of

man

man for what is wonderful; a force which it is impoſſible to calculate, and which may transform gratitude and glory into inſtruments of ſervitude and tyranny.

THE RIGHT OF INHERITANCE—which immortalizes the danger, nay, augments it from generation to generation, and from age to age, by the new weight, which time always gives to a prejudice that becomes inveterate; by that ſeeming ſanction, which antiquity ſtamps upon every eſtabliſhment; by the intereſt of ambition, which it infuſes not merely into the individuals decorated with the order, but into whole families, where ſons, grandſons, great-grandſons, and the remoteſt collateral poſterity, may one day or other aſpire to the ſame honour, and the ſame hopes, and will therefore form in the ſtate a kind of eternal league, and an uninterrupted conſpiracy of generations and of families, to maintain, perpetuate, and even enlarge theſe privileges and rights, which will have been once eſtabliſhed: in a word, a PERPETUAL ARISTOCRACY. And whether the order be created by the legiſlature, in which alone the legal power of inſtituting it, by reforming the law of the union, reſides; or be uſurped by citizens, by

choſen

choſen warriors, united in cloſe intimacy with the moſt celebrated officers of Europe; the conſequences are much the ſame: they are infinitely pernicious. The reſpect naturally paid to illuſtrious, ancient, and opulent families, the weight and reputation neceſſarily reſulting from ſo powerful an aſſociation, will be perpetuated with the patriciate; and, when ſo many advantages are once obtained, what family will ever have the courage, or even the thought, to renounce them? When the preſent generation ſhall have quitted the ſtage of life, when the deſcendants of theſe ſelf-created patricians ſhall no longer ſtruggle with the adverſity which their fathers have encountered, and which ſhould have taught them that liberty cannot be maintained but by a political union, founded on equality, will the children of theſe demigods, who are raiſed ſo high above their countrymen, condeſcend to quit their elevation? Will they ſink back to the level of thoſe, whom they may have for vaſſals? Will they prefer an equal democracy to the excluſive advantages of ariſtocratical government, which can fall into no other hands than their own? Aſſuredly no. An order, which by its conſtitution, its extent, and its connections, muſt

have

have the greateſt influence in the ſtate, will cabal, conſpire, and deſtroy the government, rather than relinquiſh its privileges; or, rather, it will be itſelf the government.

THE RIGHT OF HOLDING AT PLEASURE, OR AT STATED PERIODS, PARTICULAR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.——A right which conſtitutes a body; which would be ſufficient to create one, were it not already eſtabliſhed; which collects together every various ambition, and every different intereſt, and, as it were, enliſts them under one banner; which kindles, and keeps them alive, by the animating ſpectacle of their united ſtrength; which entertains, nouriſhes, and cauſes to ferment a dangerous zeal for the order; and which combines a multitude of ſolitary paſſions into one paſſion, more active and more ardent than the reſt, and the more dangerous, becauſe all theſe men aſſembled together will conceive themſelves to repreſent the moſt conſiderable, when, in fact, they only repreſent the moſt powerful, part of the ſtate.

Finally, THE RIGHT OF HAVING AND OF EMPLOYING A REVENUE—which adds to this mighty power

power the power of riches: a power, which always diffuſes corruption in a republic, and which is never ſo formidable, as when exerciſed under the name of bounty; becauſe it may, in times of tumult and diſſenſion, enliſt againſt the ſtate indigence, miſery, hatred, and vice.

Such being the nature of this aſſociation, can it be doubted whether it violates the ſpirit of our laws? Whether it ſubverts the principles of that equality, of which we are ſo jealous? Whether it eſtabliſhes, and eternally fixes in the ſtate, an order of citizens diſtinct from their fellow-citizens? No; it cannot be doubted: if this inſtitution ſubſiſt, the greater part of this free and high-ſpirited nation, which, in the acts of its conſtitution, takes the name of SOVEREIGN, and which is entitled to that name by the rights of nature and of conqueſt, is deſtined to ſee itſelf hereafter branded with the epithet of PEOPLE, which the titled ſlaves of Europe have converted into a term of reproach; and to have eſtabliſhed, as rulers over their own heads, and over thoſe of their poſterity, an eternal race of ariſtocratical tyrants, who will ſoon, perhaps,

perhaps, aſſume all thoſe inſulting titles, with which the nobility of Europe cruſh the private citizens, their equals, and their brethren. Every ſtate (it is but too true) bears in itſelf the ſeeds of decay, and of diſſolution. This is an evil inevitably incident to human affairs. But, at leaſt, that poiſon, which is engendered with ſtates, unfolds itſelf but ſlowly, and in the courſe of ages. The ſpectacle before us is unparalleled in the annals of mankind. For the firſt time is ſeen, among an enlightened people, guided by ſagacious and far-ſighted politicians, a conſtitution maturely formed, unanimouſly adopted, and ſolemnly proclaimed: and near it, at the very moment of its formation, an inſtitution totally repugnant to its genius, and to the general ſpirit of its laws. Thus do the Americans with one hand erect their conſtitution, and with the other the very principle of its diſſolution.

Does not then, alas! that principle already too much ferment in the boſom of our country? The luxury of nature, too laviſh in our behalf, is the firſt and the eternal ſhoal againſt which we have to guard. It has prepared an inequality of fortunes, deſtructive of that equality of rights, which we have eſtabliſhed; and the

manners

manners and prejudices, which we have imbibed under the Engliſh dominion, do, by the very defect of our laws, but too ſtrongly invite an ariſtocracy (T), without our being forward to inſtitute, arm, and endow it. The infernal ſeeds of diviſions, of jealouſies, of envy, of avarice, of public and of private factions, of avowed and of lurking diſcontents, all the vices, in ſhort, of Europe, fomented by implacable enemies, who thought it not enough to attack us with the ſword, have been long ſince ſcattered over our country. If inſtead of checking their growth, we multiply and foſter them, we are undone, and ſhall not even deſerve compaſſion.

If we would be ſtill further convinced that the order of *Cincinnatus* does in truth eſtabliſh a NOBILITY in the heart of America, we need only examine the avowed motives of the inſtitution: and, if theſe be all deluſive or dangerous; if the *Cincinnati*, to gloſs over their union, pronounce ſounding words vacant of ſenſe, nothing of their league will remain but the poſitive clauſes, forming a confederacy of powerful men, and conſtituting the proud diſtinction, which they arrogate.

The

The *Cincinnati* then pretend to have aſſociated, " *to perpetuate the remembrance of the* " *revolution.*"

A medal ſuſpended by a ribband! ſuch then is the venerable monument of the greateſt of revolutions! the exiſtence of our country, our new-founded empire, the change wrought in the aſpect of all America by our virtues and our laws, every region which has been witneſs to our exploits, fields of battle, rivers, ſeas dyed with the blood of the enemy, theſe are not monuments ſufficiently noble, to atteſt this great event! . . . . . Woe be to us, if ever the memory of this revolution be loſt by poſterity! it never can be loſt, till we have loſt our glory, diſhonoured our virtues, and degraded our ſouls. It never can be loſt, till we have deſtroyed the work of our anceſtors. And can we believe that, when that time arrives, a paltry ribband, a frivolous diſtinction, will revive in our minds thoſe remembrances, which we ourſelves ſhall have extinguiſhed by our baſeneſs, our ſervility, and our vices? Let us preſerve that equality, for which we fought, and poſterity will never forget the revolution, to which we owe it. You, you alone will deſtroy that equality, if your order be not diſſolved.

But

But " *the ſtates cannot pay the army; the offi-*
" *cers will be contented with this bauble, and they*
" *will not abuſe it. It is only a tub thrown out to*
" *the whale.*"

Either the ſtate is capable of repaying your ſervices, and in that caſe it certainly will not be ſo ungrateful, nor ſo unjuſt, as to withhold from you your due (this humiliating misfortune will not happen; but ſhould it, ſtill, it were a diſhonour for you, noble republicans, to have foreſeen it, and it becomes you to have the magnanimity to forgive the injuſtice of your country): or the republic is incapable of diſcharging the debt to her brave defenders in money; muſt ſhe then pay them by overturning, with her own hand, the conſtitution which they have purchaſed with their blood? Muſt ſhe pay them with the ſlavery of poſterity? Of that poſterity, whoſe fathers too bled for their country? The *Cincinnati* call themſelves the brethren of the officers: to be entitled then to the fraternity of arms, rank is neceſſary. In what relation will they ſtand to the reſt of their countrymen? To thoſe who fought like them, and fought as valiantly, though in a lower rank? Soon will the loweſt ſubaltern, decked with his ribband,

ribband, bluſh to be compared, or to be allied with the firſt ſerjeant, or with the braveſt ſoldier, in the army. And yet the difference between theſe ranks is inconſiderable in a republic, where arms have been taken for the ſole purpoſe of maintaining the rights of nature. The ſuperiority of merit certainly belongs to the ſerjeant, whom a little money would have raiſed to the rank of an officer. Yet theſe ſerjeants and theſe ſoldiers have no medals and no ribbands, but wait patiently for their pay, which is their ſubſiſtence and their life. And ſhall the officers be more rapacious, or leſs generous, than they? Men, who can ſubſcribe to a fund, and conſecrate a part of their pay to acts of charity, are certainly rich enough to beſtow it upon their country, which is involved in debt, and overburthened with engagements, at a time, when it ought, by the greateſt exertions, to deſerve the confidence of its citizens, and of foreign nations. Would this then, illuſtrious warriors, be your firſt ſacrifice to your country? And would it be without reward? It is not among you, as in Europe, where ſome degree of courage is neceſſary to honour that merit, which is without title, without honour, without rank, without fortune. Among you it is known

that, next to a noble action, nothing can equal the tear which ſtarts into the eye of him, who hears it.

" *They will extend acts of beneficence towards*
" *thoſe officers and their families, who may unfor-*
" *tunately be under the neceſſity of receiving it.*"

Do they, then, ſtand in need of inſignia, of privileges, of a PEERAGE, of an hereditary nobility, to exerciſe beneficence? Muſt a man henceforth in America, as well as in Europe, be able to boaſt of high anceſtry, before he has a right to portion the indigent? And will he be allowed to portion none but thoſe who can themſelves vaunt their lineage (U)? Every citizen, as an individual, may, and, as a man, ought to exerciſe charity. But what right has any body of men in the ſtate to profeſs itſelf the diſtributor of bounty? A potent aſſociation, diſtinguiſhed by its pre-eminence, and which has the power of laviſhing gold, and purchaſing the gratitude of the unfortunate, is an aſſociation more than alarming to the liberty of a republic. This right of relieving want, and of rewarding ſervices, is a right, which, in a republic, belongs to the ſtate. If it ſuffer any body of men to invade its prerogative of beneficence, it alienates one

of

of the nobleſt domains of ſovereignty, the general ſentiment of gratitude, which citizens owe to their country: it eſtranges the hearts of its children, and devotes them to powerful individuals: it commits a crime in the eyes of liberty. Moſt of the tyrants in the republics of antiquity laid the foundation of their country's ſervitude by their bounty. They took the poor into their pay, that they might enſlave the rich; and they prepared the miſery of their country, by relieving the miſery of individuals. The ſame Manlius, who drove the Gauls from the capitol, and ſaved Rome, was accuſed, when elated perhaps with his victory, of an attempt to reign over the country, for which he had conquered; and the treaſures, which he had laviſhed, were what marked him for a tyrant. I much fear that, more accuſtomed to contemplate monarchies than republics, we are unwarily inclined to combine inſtitutions, that claſh and deſtroy each other. Under kings, it is doubtleſs a happineſs that particular ſocieties aſſociate, to mitigate the evils which proceed from the government, and which, with criminal indifference, it neglects to remedy. There it is well, if the virtues of individuals counterbalance the miſchiefs of power; if private men

diſcharge the debt of the ſtate. But let us, who are equal and free; let us, whoſe firſt duty is public virtue, and who neither can nor ought to exiſt without it; let us beware of ſetting ſuch an example, and of ſuffering the ſtate to be diſpoſſeſſed of its nobleſt function, that of preventing diſtreſs, or of aſſuaging it when produced by neceſſity. If it neglect that office, let us admoniſh, but let us not deſpoil it. It would be even a calamity to the unfortunate, to permit ſuch a privilege to be uſurped by any aſſociation. The ſtate would familiarize itſelf with the idea, that it was diſcharged from the nobleſt of its duties. To abandon the practice of it to a particular ſet of men, would be to prepare ourſelves both chains and vices, to hazard at once our conſtitution and our morals.

They profeſs that they will "*attend inceſ-*
"*ſantly to preſerve inviolate the exalted rights of*
"*human nature*" . . . . . and deſtroy the firſt of thoſe rights, that of EQUALITY!

Are there then, ye illuſtrious *Cincinnati*, two kinds of rights belonging to human nature? Is there in nature a ſpecies of men, who are conſtrained

ſtrained by their condition to betray or abandon their rights? Is there in nature a ſpecies of men reduced to the humble condition of PLEBEIANS? and another ſpecies more eminent, the individuals of which are incapable of maintaining their rights, without the inceſſant watching of a dignified order of PATRICIANS? .... Yet this they muſt mean, or nothing. To them the people of America ſeem unfit to be truſted with their own national honour, or their own affairs, unleſs a diſtinct order undertake to ſuperintend them. This care is too officious. The contradiction is too glaring. They have inſtituted an order, they have erected a proud diſtinction, from the ſummit of which they look down, with protecting pity, on all beneath them. They have laid in ruins that beautiful, plain, and natural equality, which God created for our uſe and happineſs, which philoſophy contemplated with heartfelt pleaſure, which our laws and government promiſed, and ought to have ſecured to us.... They have violated all! .... and yet, in the very treaty of their uſurping league, do they talk of the EXALTED RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE! they extol what they violate! they ſwear to defend the domain of public liberty, and

they are its only invaders! but the diſguiſe is too thin. No man, who has the uſe of his reaſon, will believe that a people's rights, purchaſed with their blood, will not ſoon be invaded by men, who diſdain the condition of private citizens, and ſoar to a preſumptuous title, which they have invented for themſelves. The firſt of the exalted rights of human nature is *liberty*; the ſecond *equality*, without which liberty cannot be reſpected; the third is *property*, the lawful fruit of the equal uſe of liberty. The *Cincinnati*, by deſtroying the ſecond of theſe rights, abuſe the firſt, endanger the laſt, and ſever the common bond of all.

" *They will promote and cheriſh, between the re-*
" *ſpective ſtates, union and national honour.*" ....

UNION! HONOUR!... Diſſenſion rather, and diſgrace! HOW! UNION by the eſtabliſhment of an ariſtocracy, the neceſſary conſequence of which is to divide the citizens, and arm them one againſt another! NATIONAL HONOUR by an inſtitution, which muſt degrade the nation itſelf, by deſpoiling it of the right of equality, the firſt ſource of greatneſs, and the deareſt pledge of liberty! Let us leave it to Baron Steuben to boaſt of the good effects of an order

of

of knighthood in the petty principalities of Germany, where every generation ſees invented in every village ſome new ſymbol of dignified ſlavery, and where the ſcale of honour is regulated by the antiquity of titles and liveries. As for us, who know no honour but liberty, no maſter but the law, far from ſeeing a bond of political union in this national order, we ought to diſcover in it a never-failing ſource of diſſenſion; ſince ſuch an inſtitution muſt eſtabliſh amongſt us two diſtinct bodies, one compoſed of the army, and the other of the people. Let us not open a vaſt and reproachful theatre for oppreſſive diſtinctions, heart-burning jealouſies, and civil feuds, which always terminate in the deep and ignominious ſilence of ſlavery (V).

As for that *national honour*, of which the *Cincinnati* claim to be the guardians; woe to us if it cannot reſide out of a body of men, and cannot be kept alive but by a particular order! Still monarchical ideas in the minds of republicans! This mixture and confuſion of ideas does, I own, greatly alarm me. Nor is it true, even in a monarchy, that national honour reſides in a body of nobility. The nobles of Germany are ſuperior in number and in

lineage to thoſe of France and of England; and that England and France have reaped more glory than Germany, is to be aſcribed to their having produced ſuperior talents, which are the birth-right and the nobility of plebeians.

But, after all this, honour, which is the growth of Europe, this ſubſtitute for virtue, may under kings, perhaps, be properly entruſted to a particular body: becauſe it can hardly exiſt in the maſs of the nation. It requires prejudices; it is nouriſhed by diſtinctions; it is a vanity diſguiſed under pride, which may give ſome energy to minds that are dejected by a general ſervitude. But amongſt us, where every citizen is the equal of his fellow-citizen, there can be no honour but virtue, but the love of our rights, the deteſtation and contempt of inequality, the conſtant readineſs to bleed for our country, and for liberty: and unleſs we would already become a baſe and corrupted nation, we ought all to prove ourſelves inſpired with theſe noble ſentiments. Whoever pretends to poſſeſs them excluſively, or in a ſuperior degree to us, injures and inſults us. It is with our laws, with our conſtitution, with the

the magiſtrates whom we elect and who govern us, that we ought to repoſe this ſacred flame. Placed elſewhere, it would only reſemble thoſe funereal lamps, which ſhed a glimmering light upon the tomb where they are fixed, but which cannot impart life to the aſhes it preſerves.

" *An order of nobility will give ſtrength, dura-*
" *tion, and reverence to our government.*"

What! has not then the American war convinced the world that an order of nobility is not neceſſary to our conſtitution? May it not make one doubt whether a nobility is advantageous to any other? Is further experience wanting? When we dared to make a ſtand againſt our oppreſſors, we had no diſtinctions amongſt us. Our people was compoſed chiefly of thoſe men, whom enſlaved nations call PEASANTS (W); and theſe huſbandmen, who had no orders, no titles, no medals, no ribbands, made ſuch good officers, ſuch brave ſoldiers, ſuch conſummate ſtateſmen, that the adulation and preſumption of European courtiers would hardly dare to find their equals, or their rivals, amidſt the mob of titled and decorated ſlaves, which crowd the ſteps of the thrones of kings.

Yet

Yet what was their language at the commencement of the war? How did they in their ſpeeches treat theſe men, who were ſhortly to become heroes? . . . . *Theſe vile peaſants, theſe baſe mechanics, were to fly before a regiment of European ſeapoys.* . . . . . They bluſhed to fight with them; they ſcorned to name, or even to take notice of them. . . . . They were taught, however, how independent real courage is of thoſe military trammels called diſcipline; they were taught what reſiſtance theſe republican peaſants and artiſans could make, againſt the fleets, the armies, the treaſures, and the intrigues of kings. . . . . This they were taught! *they* returned to kiſs their chains, and *we* are free.

That martial virtue of our fellow-citizens, that conſciouſneſs of dignity, that contempt of dangers and of tyrants, thoſe generous efforts, which they have ſo often made, and which have been crowned with liberty and glory; what were they but the natural effect of equality? Of the proud and nervous energy of men, who fought for themſelves, and not for maſters; who employed, and were not employed by, their reſpected leaders; and whoſe ſouls and characters were not ſhrouded, or confined by

any

any artificial ſuperiority? It was that high-minded pride, which dictates to man, that none of his own ſpecies is his ſuperior: it was that pride, which raiſed us fleets and armies, which created us reſources, which enabled us, without pay and without murmurs, to fight, campaign after campaign, againſt one of the moſt formidable powers of the earth. Such a noble ſacrifice to patriotiſm, hiſtory cannot parallel! and ſuch never will be found in any nation where a nobility has uſurped excluſive authority! If the inſtitution, which is to eſtabliſh nobles in our country, be not totally extirpated, thoſe great and generous virtues, which effected the revolution, will be extinguiſhed never to revive. Pride and inſulting ſcorn, which the patrician Salluſt calls the *common diſeaſe of nobility* (X), will ſo debaſe the ſouls of our poſterity, that it will not be long before they will be boldly preſſed with an idea, that American independence was thus limited in its origin, that the effuſion of ſo much blood, the ſacrifice of ſo many illuſtrious victims, ſuch a variety of glorious actions, honourable ſufferings, and marvellous atchievements, were not the work of the people, nor were effected for their good, but that they are the particular glory of a few families,

lies, for whom they have juſtly founded grandeur, excluſive privileges, and, as it were, a monopoly of power, throughout the continent. For, after a violation of the rights of nature, tyranny has nothing more to do, than to ſeek in a pretended poſitive law, or in the code of ſuperſtition, for an hiſtorical title to ſanctify its pretenſions, and legalize its crimes.

There exiſts a people on whom wiſdom ſeems to have conferred a right of immortality among nations. With them, the privilege of ennobling a man's progenitors (Y) is the reward of ſublime virtues, and of diſtinguiſhed ſervices rendered to the ſtate, and to mankind. A great man there is ſo much ſuperior to diſtinctions invented and proſtituted by human vanity, that none dare to confer them upon him. The only perſons ennobled are thoſe to whom the nation owes the bleſſing of his exiſtence.

The *Cincinnati* claim a different requital; and would dignify their children at the expence of their country!

The cuſtom of ennobling anceſtors is as wiſe as it is noble. Honour, which aſcends, is at leaſt not repugnant to reaſon, like honour which deſcends.

deſcends. It plauſibly preſumes, that the inſtruction and example of their forefathers has prepared excellent citizens for the ſtate, and that the virtues of the deſcendants have been a domeſtic inheritance (Z).

But what can be ſaid for the cuſtom of ennobling poſterity? a cuſtom, which extends the pride of a reward to thoſe who have done nothing to deſerve it? which even contributes to render them unworthy of their nobility, by ſowing vices where it confers honours (AA)? and which too often beſtows on the moſt abject of men rewards for the ſervices and the blood of the moſt honourable? juſt as ſuperſtition has transferred to images of ſtone and braſs that worſhip, which gratitude firſt inſtituted for the divinity.

Retroſpective honour is, beſides, beneficial to the ſtate: it encourages parents to give a virtuous education to their offspring, and thus actually makes true nobility, the nobility of the ſoul, hereditary. But honour deſcendible, as it may light on a poſterity, which cannot pretend to any ſhare of thoſe paſt virtues, of which it is, however, the reward, is worſe than abſurd; it is ridiculous;

ridiculous; becauſe it gathers ſtrength in opinion, in proportion as it loſes it in reality, by departing farther from its ſource (BB). Nay, it is prejudicial to that very poſterity, becauſe they find it more convenient to enjoy a conventional, than to deſerve a perſonal dignity; becauſe it renders them haughty and indolent; becauſe it leaves them no proſpect of advancement, but in the trade of a ſoldier, which requires neither abilities nor induſtry; becauſe it founds upon hereditary pride an inequality of fortune, which is as prejudicial to particular families, as it is to the ſtate. Such is the perennial ſource of vanity and beggary, of meanneſs and pride, of ſlavery and tyranny, which pours over countries infected with this lineal nobility, all kinds of public and private evils.

Theſe will in our country be the work of the *Cincinnati*. NOBILITY, ſays Machiavel, IS A SPECIES OF VERMINE WHICH INSENSIBLY CONSUMES LIBERTY. This order, which America beholds with indifference, will, when conſolidated by time, convert the children of our military chiefs into a diſtinct, a privileged, and a commanding race. For man ſees a God in every object of veneration or terror (CC). Lying poets and fawning orators will proſtitute their eloquence to con-

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fer the honours of an apotheoſis on the parricides, who will have enſlaved their country (DD). The reſt of the citizens will be nothing but an obſcure, ſpiritleſs, degraded and degenerate rabble, unworthy of regard, and devoted to oppreſſion, as if every plebeian were, according to the ſtrong expreſſion of Livy, *hateful even to the immortal Gods* (EE). Yet a little while, and the *Cincinnati* will perſuade themſelves, that they are lineally deſcended from heaven, that they are by right divine the YNCAS of our America; they will deem it an abomination, and little leſs than ſacrilege, to unite in marriage with any of the devoted race, and their imperial caſt will doom all their brethren to ſlavery.

Such is the eternal leſſon, which the hiſtory of man and of nations affords us in every page. The nature of things cannot alter. Corruption always ariſes from inequality. Diſſenſions are inflamed by corruption. Parties are formed. Civil wars break out. New Syllas place themſelves at the head of the nobles; new Mariuses become the leaders of the people. Victory or defeat, exiles, confiſcations, proſcriptions, every ſpecies of cruelty, and every degree of oppreſſion, are the inevitable conſequences of a claſh

of

of parties. A dictator appears, and erects his own arbitrary power upon the ruins of his country. Thus (that I may gratify the timid caution of modern times, and cite only ancient examples), thus no ſooner had Cæſar, the falſe champion of the people, triumphed over Pompey, the ſhort-ſighted chief of the patricians, than he was ſeen to trample upon public liberty. Thus did ſo many battles, ſo many victories, and ſo many toils, that they ſtill confound our aſtoniſhed imagination, ſerve only to glut the ambition of an order of *Cincinnati*, not decorated with badges leſs numerous, leſs dazzling, and far leſs formidable than ours, and to eſtabliſh, over a nation of heros, the moſt atrocious tyrants, and the crueleſt deſpotiſm, that ever exulted in the ſufferings of human nature.

Such are the advantages, which reſult to ſociety from the inſtitution of an hereditary, or, if you will, a perpetual nobility, and from that unnatural *diſorder* which is dignified with the name of ORDER (FF). It has every where been a volcano of diſſenſions, troubles, and tyranny; and ſuch it will every where be, but above all in a republic. For the miſchief of a nobility can be counteracted only by the miſchief of a king,

king, who may protect the people from their nobles, and in this light, perhaps, alone can one find any excuſe for an honeſt man, who, not having in view the oppreſſion of the people, concurs nevertheleſs in the inſtitution of a nobility. Far from being the ſupporters of the ſtate, or, as Judge Blackſtone has been pleaſed to call them, "*pillars reared from among the people to ſup-*"*port the throne* (19)," the nobles of commonwealths have ever been, and ſtill are, nothing but tyrants; and the nobles of monarchies have ever been, and ſtill are, nothing but the truſty inſtruments of oppreſſion (GG), as imperious maſters, as they are groveling ſlaves; men ready at all times to inſult, harraſs, and grind the people, already ruined, exhauſted, and withered by this nobility, like the ſtunted underwood, which is overſhadowed and ſtarved by the towering oaks.

The *Cincinnati* will, no doubt, treat as DECLAMATION the expreſſion of our too juſt alarms. Some of them already aſſume the cloak of political modeſty, and pretend to be aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be thought "*more dangerous* "*than a city corporation of tradeſmen and mecha-*

(19) *Com. I.* 158.

" *nics, or than free-maſons and other clubs, who* " *wear badges or medals.*" How ſtrange a paſſion is pride, which can aſſume all ſhapes and colours, and humble itſelf to the very duſt, to accompliſh its purpoſe! It is a ſerpent that coils itſelf up to dart out more impetuouſly! . . . This moment the *Cincinnati* take upon them *the diſpenſation of bounty, the ſuperintendance of the public weal, and of the honour, union, and happineſs of nations, and the preſervation of the moſt exalted rights of nature*; and, the next, they proſtrate themſelves to the level of men, with whom, upon any other occaſion, they would deem all compariſon an inſult! . . . . Vain doubles of ambition! which, to the eyes of watchful liberty, can never palliate a league, the more deteſtable becauſe the men, whoſe vanity conſpires againſt their country, boaſt of honourable intentions, pretend to impoſe on themſelves ſacred duties, and artfully diſguiſe their dangerous exiſtence. . . . . Even for the name which they have aſſumed, they owe a ſtrict account.

Their veneration for Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, celebrated like them for the defence of his country, and their fixed reſolution to follow his example by returning to their citizenſhip, has ſug-

geſted

geſted to them the idea of giving his name to their ſociety.

Thus is the republican, who, in his heroic ſimplicity, brought back his victorious ſword, and his triumphant laurels, to the plough, from which the public confidence had torn him, invoked by theſe turbulent and ambitious ſpirits, who, by their own avowal, *were called, like him*, to the ſacred miſſion of defending their country, and yet could not wait to receive, from her hands, the diſtinctions, to which they aſpired! Were they called, too, to an hereditary reward? They boaſt of their retreat, as if they had been to chooſe whether they would lay down their arms! Did they think that their return to the condition of citizens was an act of mercy to their country? Had their country ſurrendered itſelf up to them? Ten thouſand Cæſars are no mighty ſacrifice! Do they, then, at the moment that they are arrogating to themſelves an unconſtitutional dignity, aſſume the name, and affect the character, of a Roman, who was, of all the children of the republic, the moſt modeſt and ſubmiſſive! For in this point of view alone is his character known and admired. Where then is it written, that *Cincinnatus* inveſted himſelf

with an order, and conferred it on his fellow-ſoldiers? That he kept his faſces after he had returned to his plough? Such a proceeding was far beneath the greatneſs of his ſoul: but it was more than he would have dared attempt. For leſs crimes than this that Republic, in the days of her liberty, and of her true glory, expelled, baniſhed, and put to death, ſeveral ambitious citizens, as deſerving for their talents and their ſervices, as the moſt illuſtrious of our countrymen.

The Romans learned, by ſad experience, an important leſſon. They knew that military commanders, habituated to the implicit obedience of armies, and intoxicated with their own renown, are commonly in their hearts ariſtocratical, and implacable enemies to equality. In proportion as they become diſtinguiſhed, they are tempted, under a plauſible ſhow of merit and of juſtice, to uſurp privileges of the moſt dangerous conſequence. The vulgar adore them with a ſtupid veneration (HH), which men truly magnanimous diſdain (II), and which gives the real friends of liberty cauſe to dread the gratitude of the people, as an earneſt of their ſlavery. This extravagant veneration in-

flames

flames their pride, and deſpotiſm riſes behind the ſmoke of the incenſe, which is burned at their feet. Some common-wealths (JJ) have, for this reaſon, always appointed a foreigner to command their armies, and nations enlightened by a ſagacious foreſight have found themſelves under the neceſſity of removing citizens diſtinguiſhed by military ſervices; they have excluded them from dignities, and conſtantly ſtruggled againſt their influence. Their fame, their reputation, their glory, have been thought an ample reward to conſole them for the ſtrict watch kept over them. It is poſſible, and indeed probable, that fear, as much as virtue, might reſtrain ſome of the great men of antiquity from aught which could give alarm to their fellow-citizens: for there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe them to have been more diſintereſted than the chiefs of America; and, from their moderation, we may conclude, independent of all hiſtorical proofs, that their republics had morals, which no longer prevail with us, or reſtrictive laws, which we have not yet eſtabliſhed.

All theſe truths are known to the ſenſible part of the American army. But their ambition cannot be ſatisfied with the reputation,

which their ſervices have gained them, unleſs it likewiſe ſecure them nobility. It is not enough, then, that the admiration of poſterity will raiſe over their tombs trophies, which neither the revolution of ages, nor the power of fate, can demoliſh! . . . . . Unleſs titles be engrafted in their families, and medals be ſuſpended at their breaſts, which, at any other time, they would have thought childiſh ornaments, they are not rewarded. Would but the magnanimous defenders of America reflect in the privacy of their own conſciences and underſtandings, they would be convinced that a motive of vanity, rather than pride, has ſuggeſted to them a project, which cannot but poiſon their happineſs, and tarniſh their glory. They would of themſelves diſſolve this fatal inſtitution, and reſt ſatisfied with the tribute of veneration and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

But whatever be the event, the alarm is now ſounded. Let the brave awake. The freedom of a country may be overturned by cauſes imperceptible to the multitude, eſpecially where popular aſſemblies, tranſported by paſſion, ſtrike at perſons inſtead of things. To aggrandiſe the ambitious is then an eaſy taſk; and, while ven-

vengeance is wreaked, for minute wrongs, on petty enemies, a ſnare is laid for liberty, the firſt object of the toils of men, and the deareſt treaſure to their poſterity.

But the queſtion no longer concerns ſlight attempts, clandeſtine deſigns, and imperceptible cauſes: the *Cincinnati*, I have demonſtrated, create two diſtinct orders of men in their country;

A race of PATRICIANS, hereditary nobles, the flower of the army, powerful families, citizens of the firſt rank, chiefs of the ſtate, diſtinguiſhed by their merit, by the nature and glory of their ſervices, and by the luſtre of their reputation; men formidable by their alliances, and whoſe eternal object will be to command:

THE PEOPLE, or plebeians, deſtined even by the mediocrity of their fortunes to moderation, from which they never deviate, till irritated by contempt or injuſtice, and whoſe only object is not to be oppreſſed. But oppreſſion they are too inevitably doomed to by this uſurping inſtitution, which cannot but perpetuate the grandeur of families in an ariſtocratical nobi-

lity, and terminate at laſt in a monarchical tyranny (KK).

America is now to decide with certainty, whether the human ſpecies were formed by nature for liberty, or for ſlavery. For never did any republican government, in any part of the globe, meet with circumſtances ſo favourable to its eſtabliſhment, as ours has done. A country new, inexhauſtible, endowed with all the riches of nature, ſurrounded with immenſe ſeas, eaſy of defence, and far removed from the diſgrace and from the crimes of deſpotiſm: an age of ſcience, and of toleration: the reſt of the globe impotent, or exhauſted; childiſh, or delirious: recent examples of ſimilar revolutions: the ſucceſſes or the errors which diſtinguiſhed them: the body of the nation already formidable: the moſt favourable principles, and even prejudices: the ſeeds of good laws: the ſketch of a conſtitution, not fortuitous, but deliberately planned: profound ſtateſmen, valiant chiefs. . . . . All theſe advantages will, in a few years, be ſtifled by the order of the *Cincinnati*. What a mortal wound, alas, to the liberty of mankind! Muſt we then own, with the enemies of freedom, that the noble ideas of

Sidney,

Sidney, Locke, Rouſſeau, and others, who have indulged dreams of political happineſs, may be the object of a ſublime theory, but cannot poſſibly be reduced into practice? Shall our example ſerve to invigorate that deſpotiſm, which already ſhackles Europe, by demonſtrating that a people, who have once been ſubject to a king, are too depraved ever after to govern themſelves, to ſupport liberty, or even to diſpenſe with diſtinctions, orders, titles, and all thoſe toys, with which kingly government lures human vanity (LL), and which have ſo faſcinated our underſtandings and our ſenſes, that talents, virtues, and even riches, are not in our eſtimation objects ſo deſireable as a medal and a ribband

Ah! let us not ſo cruelly diſappoint the expectations of the world. Let us not ſtamp ſuch diſhonour on the name of Americans; let us not fix ſuch a ſtain on human nature. Let us not afford ſuch cauſe of affliction to the wiſe. "It is "impoſſible that they ſhould not offer up their "prayers that the American republic may "attain the higheſt degree of proſperity, of "which it is ſuſceptible. It is the hope of

"human

" human nature. It ought to become its great
" example. It ought, by its conduct, to prove
" to the world, that mankind may be free,
" and at peace, and can do without every ſpe-
" cies of ſhackles, which tyrants and impoſtors
" of every garb have ſought to impoſe upon
" them, under pretence of the public good.
" It ought to ſet the example of political
" liberty, of religious liberty, of liberty of com-
" merce and of induſtry. It ought to ſet the
" example of every ſpecies of liberty. The aſy-
" lum which America opens to the oppreſſed of
" all nations, ought to conſole the earth. The
" eaſe with which men may avail themſelves of
" this advantage, by eſcaping from the effects
" of a bad government, will force govern-
" ments to become juſt, and to ſee their errors.
" The reſt of mankind will gradually become
" ſenſible of the vanity of thoſe illuſions, with
" which politicians have ſo long lulled them-
" ſelves to reſt. But this can never happen,
" if America guard not againſt thoſe errors,
" or if it become, the counterpart of Europe, a
" maſs of divided powers contending together
" for territory, or for the emoluments of com-
" merce; and conſtantly cementing the ſlavery
" of

" of the people, by all the little artifices of " European politics (MM)."

Let the legiſlature blaſt this deſtructive inſtitution of an artificial, and (which is its maſterpiece) a decorated nobility. But before ſhe dart the lightning of her vengeance, before ſhe extirpate the name of the *Cincinnati*, let her admoniſh her children; let her ſay (for they have deſerved that tender regard from her):

" The patriotic views, and pious projects, " which ſeduced you, will ſome time or other " be the diſguiſe of a political conſpiracy of " military commanders, a conſpiracy danger- " ous to the public weal, and therefore cri- " minal. Free men cannot but cenſure, repro- " bate, extirpate ſuch an innovation. Be your " portion our gratitude, and your own well- " earned glory, which may juſtly excite envy: " and which will give you ſufficient influence " in your country.

" Remember that hour of conſternation when " the ſouthern troops, encamped near Jackſon- " borough, covered the aſſembly of Carolina,

" which

" which was then debating upon the melan-
" choly and cruel ſubject of the confiſca-
" tions (NN). The whole army, from the
" general to the ragged centinel, held that
" proſcription in horror. They were aſto-
" niſhed that the inhabitants of South Caro-
" lina could burn with ſuch a feveriſh thirſt of
" vengeance. Theſe magnanimous ſoldiers,
" half-naked and half-ſtarved, had braved want,
" toil, and danger. Without pay, and almoſt
" without hopes; they had encountered the
" ſeverities of every various climate, from the
" walls of Quebec, quite to the lines of Sa-
" vannah. Moſt of them had been impriſoned
" more than once, by land and ſea, and had
" endured all the rage of inſolent conquerors,
" who treated their captives as rebels. Yet
" could they not conceive how adverſity ſhould
" render men cruel. The diſtempered rage
" of our countrymen, precipitating the ruin
" of their brethren, filled them with grief and
" horror. Their's was not an unavailing com-
" paſſion. They mixed with the members of
" both houſes, and by dint of argument, and
" plain moderate diſcuſſion, oppoſed theſe
" violent reſolutions with ſuch ſucceſs, that

" the

" the number of the proſcribed was much di-
" miniſhed. . . . . Illuſtrious, generous men!
" ſuch, we thank God, was the empire of your
" virtues! . . . . . May the hand of oppreſſion
" never compel your ſons to drink of the
" bitter cup of adverſity! or, ſhould the will
" of heaven doom them to ſuffer, may they
" find ſome grateful being to remember, that
" their fathers were the friends of human na-
" ture in affliction! . . . . . Illuſtrious, gene-
" rous men! you have delivered us from the
" yoke of a proud nation: ſully not ſo ſu-
" blime an exploit! tarniſh not your glory!
" bequeath not to your children the power
" of being tyrants, and the danger of being
" puniſhed!

" The honours and excluſive privileges of
" an hereditary order are a formal uſurpation
" of ſovereignty; for they are an invaſion of
" the conſtitution. They are beneath you;
" for they beſpeak a ſollicitude to comme-
" morate what is known to all the world.
" Warriors of America, ye, whom your ac-
" tions have ennobled in the eyes of all
" mankind, beware of degrading yourſelves.

" What

" What higher and truer nobility do you ſeek,
" than to ſhare the ſovereignty which belongs
" equally to you and to your brethren? Com-
" pared with this, what is that artificial nobi-
" lity which you aſpire to? What would it
" be, even among the noblemen of Europe?
" Carry among Europeans your paltry deco-
" ration, and the diſtinction, which you would
" fain tranſmit to your poſterity. See how
" they will be deſpiſed. See how high the
" titled ſlaves of deſpots, who carefully pre-
" ſerve for ages the monuments of their ſer-
" vitude, will imagine themſelves placed above
" you. See what a ſuperiority they will affect
" over men, who are only heros; and then
" judge of a conventional nobility; ſince,
" beaming with virtues and with glory, you
" are yet, in the eyes of European noblemen,
" but plebeians.

" You aſpired to the name of free men;
" you have earned it by arms. It is the
" nobleſt of titles. Reſpect it, and make it
" be reſpected. The baſis of the government
" which you have founded, is EQUALITY.
" You will not deſtroy it; you, who pur-
" chaſed

" chafed it with your blood. You will not
" forget, that this generous people never ceafed
" to fight by your fides. The heros of li-
" berty, you will not become its foes. The
" deliverers of the new world, you will not
" become its fcourges. . . . . But, if you
" fhould dare attempt it, you would foon be
" taught, that America fought not for the
" choice of tyrants."

THE END OF THE CONSIDERATIONS.

NOTES

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

REFERRED TO IN THE

CONSIDERATIONS.

(A) The council of Cenſors, for inſtance, which, by the forty-ſeventh article of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania, is erected for the purpoſe of enquiring whether the conſtitution has been preſerved inviolate in every part, ought undoubtedly to take into conſideration ſo important an inſtitution as that of the *Cincinnati*. But a council which is to be aſſembled only once in ſeven years, is ill calculated to oppoſe ſudden abuſes as they ſpring up in the ſtate, or to repair any detriment done to the conſtitution: and moſt probably is altogether uſeleſs. But ſee the poſtſcript.

(B) The order has not ſo much as attempted to diſguiſe this project; for their firſt inſtrument of aſſociation declares expreſsly, that the month's pay advanced by each officer "ſhall remain *for ever* to the "uſe of the ſtate ſociety: the intereſt *only* of which, "if neceſſary, to be appropriated to the relief of the "unfortunate." So that this ſo much boaſted bounty of the *Cincinnati* amounts to no more than a 240th part of their pay; and the officer whoſe income is fifty pounds a year, will contribute only four ſhillings and two pence annually to the ſociety. The inſtrument goes on to ſay, "it is probable that ſome per-

"ſons

" ſons may make donations to the general ſociety,
" for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing funds for the further
" comfort of the unfortunate, in which caſe ſuch
" donations muſt be placed in the hands of the
" treaſurer-general, the intereſt only of which to be
" diſpoſed of, if neceſſary, by the general meeting,"
—See the poſtſcript.

(C) It has been obſerved in the introduction, note (2), that Waſhington is now preſident of the order, baron Steuben having only lent his name to the general.

(D) They have even given a preference to thoſe who have no other merit than that of being related to the deceaſed officers: " As a teſtimony of affection
" to the memory and offspring of ſuch officers as
" have died in the ſervice, their eldeſt male branches
" ſhall have the ſame right of becoming members,
" as the children of the actual members of the ſo-
" ciety."

(E) *Hoc ipſum, ne connubium Patribus cum plebe eſſet, non Decemviri tulerunt paucis his annis, peſſimo exemplo publico, cum ſumma injuria plebis? An eſſe ulla major aut inſignior contumelia poteſt, quam partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi? Quid eſt aliud, quam exſilium intra eadem mœnia, quam relegationem pati? Ne affinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immiſceamur, cavent; . . . . . id vos ſub legis ſuperbiſſimæ vincula conjicitis, qua dirimatis ſocietatem civi-*

lem

lem, duasque ex una civitate faciatis. Cur non ſancitis ne vicinus patricio ſit plebeius? ne eodem itinere eat? ne idem convivium ineat? ne in foro eodem conſiſtat? Liv. lib. 4. cap. 4.

(F) *Plebs vero dicitur in quâ gentes civium patriciæ non inſunt*—is the definition of the word *plebs*, which *Aulus Gellius* (Noct. Att. lib. 10. cap. 20.) cites from *Capito*.

(G) The power of the conſuls was unlimited: but the patricians had nothing to fear from an authority, of which they were themſelves the judges. The plebeians, therefore, were conſtrained to endure every kind of oppreſſion. Valerius Poplicola made a fruitleſs attempt to relieve them by the law of appeal to the people, and by that for electing the conſuls by centuries. The patricians remained in poſſeſſion of all honours, and of the diſpoſal of land, and reduced the plebeians to be the mere ſlaves of their ambition and avarice. The people, at length, broke their ſhackles; but, as it ever happens, plunged into the other extreme: and when the *comitia tributa*, eſtabliſhed by demagogues, ſanctified under the name of tribunes, came to ſhare the adminiſtration with the *comitia centuriata*, the will of the people prevailed in the one, and that of the patricians in the other. This was a perpetual ſource of troubles and diviſions, which endured as long as the republic, and ceaſed only when the emperors had engroſſed all power, by uniting in themſelves the authority of the ſenate with that of the people. Thus does deſpotiſm ſilence all parties,

parties, by deſpoiling all. Nothing is then heard but the encomiums which men of wit beſtow on the peace of ſervitude.

(H) According to Dr. Robertſon moſt of their titles, like thoſe of the *Cincinnati*, were created by themſelves. "One ſtep more completed their uſur-" pations, and rendered them unalienable. With an " ambition no leſs enterpriſing, and more prepoſte-" rous, they appropriated to themſelves titles of ho-" nours, as well as offices of power or truſt." *Hiſt. Cha. V. vol. I. p.* 18.

(I) The order of the garter owes its creation to the *platonic* love of Edward III. for the counteſs of Saliſbury. That of the golden fleece flows from a more impure ſource. The origin of the order of the bath was quite as pitiful. The dream of a ſuperſtitious prince of Scotland occaſioned the order of St. Andrew. The reputation of the ſociety, or brotherhood, for whom that of the holy ghoſt was inſtituted, is notorious. The order of St. Patrick, lately eſtabliſhed among the Iriſh, who ſeem not to diſcover in it a link of the chain which binds them, took its riſe from a legendary tale of a fanatic preacher. It will not be contended that the caprice, or ſuperſtition, of the rich and powerful men, who gave birth to theſe orders, were a cauſe as big with important conſequences as the favourable opportunity, which the authors of the American revolution have ſeized on, and the obvious deſigns which they manifeſt. No order

of knighthood can bear compariſon with theirs, but one, and that with diſadvantage, the military order of St. Stephen of Tuſcany (1), which was the laſt blow given to the common-wealth of Florence, and the monument of its deſtruction.

(K) Like the Roman damſel, in the reign of Romulus, who betrayed her country for rings and bracelets.

(L) It is a ſingularity worthy of notice in the hiſtory of the human heart, or rather in the hiſtory of human diſgrace, that, among thoſe, whom theſe truths will moſt ſcandalize, are a great many men of the loweſt birth. But what affords matter of very melancholy reflection, is the meanneſs, or the inconſiſtency of ſome of thoſe who cultivate letters, and who, far from regarding the exerciſe of reaſon and virtue as the only true nobility, ſtrengthen to the utmoſt of their power the abſurd and barbarous prejudices which cruſhed their fathers, and which emaſculate them. I ſpeak not merely of the ridiculous ſolemnity of the panegyrics which are laviſhed on ſome men by poets, orators, and authors of every deſcription, for no better reaſon, perhaps, than becauſe the object of them was born in a palace inſtead of a houſe, or in a houſe inſtead of a cottage; but of thoſe declamations upon unequal

(1) Inſtituted in 1561 by Coſmo de Medicis, the firſt great duke of Tuſcany, in commemoration of the battle of Marciano, in which the republican party was utterly defeated.

unequal marriages, of which hiſtorians, and even moraliſts, are ſo prodigal; and of that immeaſurable diſtance which pretended philoſophers place not only between different claſſes of individuals, but between individuals of the ſame claſs. Between nobles for inſtance, and men ennobled. I met lately in a pretty collection of light poetry, as it is very properly called, with the following lines:

Of a name become great by defending the nation,
Length of time but enhances the fair reputation;
But, ah! 'tis not ſo with a name that grows old,
Meanly deck'd with vain titles, the purchaſe of gold.
For time won't confound the illuſtrious and baſe;
It will ſeparate both, and range each in his place.
Art of ſand and of dirt forms the cryſtal ſo bright,
But the diamond alone is the offſpring of light.

As for me, I cannot diſcover either *cryſtal* or *diamond* in theſe two orders of men: or, rather, I think that in true moral, as well as in ſound natural philoſophy, the *diamond* and the *cryſtal* are alike, the offspring of *ſand* and *dirt*. And I have no more veneration, I confeſs, for the thirty thouſand oppreſſors caſed in ſteel, who, with lances couched, trampled under their horſes feet ten or twelve millions of Gauls, than for the multitude of calculating leaches, who ſuck the impoveriſhed blood of twenty millions of Frenchmen. I obſerve, indeed, that the former, in order to perpetuate themſelves, and to maintain uninterrupted poſſeſſion of their advantages, have taken

recruits from among the latter. I obſerve that ferocity and pride have practiſed the rapine of avarice; and that the junction of power and wealth has united againſt the people the cruelty of a barbarous conqueror, and the rapacious induſtry of a peculator. It is not in me, alas! to venerate the reſult and offspring of this noble mixture. I have now and then ſome doubt, whether this really conſtitutes the moſt reſpectable part of the inhabitants of the earth, and when I ſee that it is, at leaſt, the moſt reſpected, I ſometimes feel compaſſion for the human kind, and ſometimes think they deſerve, by their meanneſs and ſtupidity, a great part of their misfortunes. That theſe ideas have a ſevere and gloomy caſt, will be obſerved by faſhionable writers, with all the amiable and eaſy grace of their native wit. But no matter, though they be ſevere, provided they be juſt, reaſonable, and honeſt. For my part, I am firmly perſuaded, that if they be rejected, morality reſts upon too conventional a baſis, and, indeed, I know not what becomes of political morality. Theſe ideas once exploded, it ſhould ſeem that morals are much leſs applicable to politics, than mathematics to phyſic; and yet the wiſh of all honeſt men, of all real friends to mankind, muſt be, that morality were applied to the ſcience of government, as ſucceſsfully as algebra has been to geometry. This, it will be ſaid, is a chimera; but that I can by no means admit: if it be a chimera, let there be no more talk about morality, let the fact be boldly eſtabliſhed to be the right. In a word,

word, let me be enſlaved, but let not my ears be fatigued, and my reaſon inſulted.

(M) *Reges ſerva omnia & ſubjecta imperio ſuo eſſe velint.* Liv. lib. 22.

(N) The Roman emperors were not monarchs. They were chiefs inveſted with the magiſtracies of the ancient republic, and with the command of the army: or, in other words, the emperor was a magiſtrate, ſuperior to all others, and was powerful enough, by the union of his various offices, and, above all, by his military command, to perſecute individuals, and to oppreſs the nation.

(O) See *The conſtitutions of the ſeveral independent ſtates of America:* a work printed in French, and ſold at Paris, with royal permiſſion, and which was tranſlated by a duke and peer of France, whoſe virtue, it muſt be confeſſed, might have entitled him, in ancient Rome, to the office of tribune of the people.

(P) It has been obſerved to me, that the ſequel of this paſſage, in the original Maſſachuſetts conſtitution, modifies the part which I have cited, and may afford an objection againſt me. The paſſage runs thus: "No man, or corporation, or aſſociation of "men, have any *other* title to obtain advantages, or "particular and excluſive privileges, diſtinct from "thoſe of the community, *than what ariſes from the* "*conſideration of ſervices rendered to the public.*"

To this I anſwer, firſt, that, for the reaſons given in my work, and for many others which might be adduced, the modification is eſſentially bad; and that error does not eſtabliſh right. Secondly, That this modification is evidently in contradiction with the ſixth article of the act of union, ſince the confederation has expreſsly denied itſelf a right of creating an order of nobility. Thirdly, That at any rate, neither do the laws of any of the ſtates, nor the articles of the confederation, authoriſe individuals to create titles, and confer them upon themſelves, by their own private authority.

(Q) Their laws exhibit a conſtant application of this doctrine, not only in favour of the people, who have given themſelves theſe laws, but in favour of all men indiſcriminately; not even excepting thoſe, whom the univerſal deſpotiſm of nations, conſiſting nevertheleſs of their brethren, has hitherto moſt inhumanly debaſed and enſlaved. "*No perſon hereafter imported* "*into this ſtate from Africa, ought to be held in ſlavery* "*under any pretence whatever*; *and no negro, Indian,* "*or mulatto ſlave, ought to be brought into this ſtate for* "*ſale from any part of the world.*"—Delaware conſtitution, art. XXVI. And in the proviſional ſyſtem of government, adopted by congreſs for the ten new ſtates, called the *Weſtern territory*, which have been eſtabliſhed in the country that lies between the lake of the woods, and the confluence of the Ohio and of the Miſſiſippi, we find the following article: "*After the year* 1800 *of* "*the Chriſtian era, there ſhall be no ſlavery, or involun-*

"*tary*

" *tary ſervitude, in any of the ſaid ſtates, unleſs by way*
" *of puniſhment for ſome crime, of which the perſon*
" *accuſed ſhall have been duly convicted.*"

(R) The writer whoſe verſes I took the liberty, in a former note, to criticiſe with ſome degree of ſeverity, becauſe the ſentiment which they contain is the more dangerous, as the form in which it is preſented is more ingenious and ſeducing, has, in the ſame collection, committed a very unjuſtifiable inaccuracy. It is in a poem entitled, *Portrait hiſtorique du charlataniſme*; where the poet perſonifies impoſture, and makes her exclaim:

Yet wild, and rude, juſt broken from his chains;
The free American my gifts diſdains;
But ſtill, ere long, I truſt that even he
Shall own my power, and bend the ſtubborn knee,
Since the fam'd congreſs meets with ſage intent
Knights to ordain, and orders to invent.

Not only the congreſs has *never invented orders*, but its uniform conduct beſpeaks its fixed diſapprobation of them (ſee, in the poſtſcript, the note reſpecting the order of divine providence). Granting that a poet might, to ſuit his own convenience, falſify facts thus groſsly, yet ſurely the notes, which accompany the poem, ought to have corrected the miſrepreſentation. Thoſe of poets are ſeldom indifferent: they live by theft, but they live eternally. The advantage of employing forms, peculiar to themſelves, and harmonious numbers, which enchant all men, but which

reject

reject the dulneſs of detail ever ſubject to error, and ſeize only on ſtriking and important conſequences, enſures them immortality. One may even doubt, whether the *Spirit of laws* will ſurvive the fine epiſtles of Horace, or even his amuſing odes. It becomes a duty, therefore, to correct every moral error, and every hiſtorical miſrepreſentation, to which poets have given countenance.

(S) As it may be thought in Europe that this calculation is over-rated, I cite the American authority mentioned in the introduction: " *For the number of* " *the peers of the order, reckoning honorary members,* " (. . . . .) *cannot be far ſhort of ten thouſand.*"

(T) As this work, which has been written a conſiderable time, was going to the preſs, I met with the following paſſage, in a book aſcribed to the *Abbé de Mably*, and printed with his name (2):

" The law extends the right of voting in the elec-
" tion of repreſentatives to the children of freeholders,
" who are of age, though they do not pay any taxes.
" Be it ſo: but how, let me aſk, can this ariſtocra-
" tical diſtinction blend itſelf with the purely demo-
" cratical principles of the Pennſylvanians? Vanity,
" from which no man is exempt, is the moſt active
" and ſubtle of the paſſions. Theſe freeholders, I
" make no doubt, will conſider their privileges as a
" kind

(2) *Obſervations ſur le gouvernement & les Etats-unis d'Amérique, p.* 47, 48, 49. *Amſterdam, chez J. F. Roſart.*

" kind of honour, which ſeparates, and ought to ſe-
" parate, them from thoſe citizens, who are not land-
" holders. They will ſoon refuſe to mingle with the
" objects of their ſcorn. Hence two claſſes of fami-
" lies will be eſtabliſhed; and one of theſe will con-
" clude, that, becauſe it enjoys peculiar privileges,
" it ought to form a diſtinct order. A hereditary
" nobility, which the laws of America proſcribe, is
" thus inſenſibly formed; and perpetual conteſts ſuc-
" ceed between the ariſtocracy, which paſſions eſta-
" bliſh, and the democracy, which the laws protect:
" conteſts, which cannot prove of any advantage to
" the common-wealth, nay, which muſt, at length,
" be the cauſe of its deſtruction, unleſs its citizens
" be inſpired with the virtues which prevailed in the
" brighteſt days of Rome, and ceaſe to conſider
" riches as the moſt precious of all poſſeſſions."

This ſingle inſtance illuſtrates my idea; and I cannot but lament, that ſimilar obſervations do not more frequently occur in the work of ſo able a writer, among whoſe firſt counſels to the ſtates of America, I ſhould never have expected, I confeſs, to find advice to *reſtrain*, and not TOO AMPLY AND TOO ABSOLUTELY TO ESTABLISH *democracy* (3), *reli-*

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(3) " Permit me, Sir, to aſk you, whether your new laws are
" adapted to the knowledge, the capacity, and the paſſions of
" the multitude, who are never enough enlightened to diſtin-
" guiſh licentiouſneſs from liberty? Have they not been taught
" to expect more than it is intended, or than it is poſſible to per-
" form? If it be true, that, in conſequence of your connection
" with

religious toleration (4), and the *liberty of the preſs* (5).

(U) That a woman of noble birth, who, after having lingered out her childhood in indigence, has, at

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" with England, the ſeeds of ariſtocracy are ſown in your na-
" tion, and will continually ſeek to expand themſelves, would it
" not be ſomewhat imprudent to attempt the eſtabliſhment of too
" abſolute a democracy? Is it not to ſet the laws in oppoſition
" to the manners of the country? I ſhould have thought that,
" inſtead of magnificently kindling the ambition and the hopes
" of the people, it had been wiſer to have propoſed to them
" merely to ſhake off the yoke of England, in order to obey
" none but magiſtrates, whom the mediocrity of their fortunes
" ſhould render modeſt, and zealous for the public welfare. In
" eſtabliſhing the rights of the people in ſuch a manner, as to
" ſecure them from all injuſtice, the principal object in view
" ſhould have been to reſtrain the ariſtocracy, and to make
" laws to prevent the rich from abuſing their wealth, and pur-
" chaſing an authority, which they ought not to poſſeſs."

(4) " You no longer obey the Engliſh, nor are under their pro-
" tection: you are now obliged to govern yourſelves. And, per-
" haps, when you allowed the ſame rights to all kinds of diffe-
" rent ſects, which are habituated and familiarized with one
" another, it might have been neceſſary to have, in ſome degree,
" reſtrained your exceſſive toleration, in order to prevent the
" abuſes which may reſult from it."

(5) " I will add . . . . . that it is very dangerous to eſtabliſh
" by law a perfect liberty of the preſs in a new ſtate, which has
" acquired its freedom and independence before it has the know-
" lege or the ſkill to make a proper uſe of them. It is true,
" that without the liberty of the preſs there can be no freedom of
" thought, and conſequently we cannot at all improve in mora-
" lity

at length, attained the ſummit of grandeur, ſhould ſeek to reſcue ſome young women, born in that high rank on which ſhe prides herſelf, from poverty; that ſhe ſhould laviſh the treaſures of a great monarch upon this ill-conceived act of benevolence, is but the effect of a reflection upon her own fate, which confines her compaſſion to that ſpecies of adverſity, which ſhe imagines moſt nearly to concern herſelf. It is the rich blind man who gives alms to the blind beggar in preference to others.

But

" lity or in learning. Give full indulgence then to the learned,
" who ſtudy the ſecrets of nature, who ſeek truth amid the
" ruins of antiquity and the darkneſs of modern times, and
" who write upon laws, upon the regulations, reſolutions, and
" particular arrangements of politics, and of adminiſtrations.
" Their errors are not of importance: their diſcuſſions, what-
" ever they may be, quicken our underſtanding, and accuſtom
" them to a regular method, and throw uſeful lights upon mo-
" rality and politics.

" But how is it poſſible to hope that the Americans, who are
" too much habituated to the philoſophical ideas, the opinions,
" and the prejudices of England, to caſt them off on a ſudden,
" will not continue to draw dangerous conſequences from errors,
" which they conſider as eſtabliſhed principles? . . . . . Were
" they to have full liberty of printing what they pleaſed, before
" your common-wealths have eſtabliſhed among them a council
" or ſenate, to ſerve as their palladium, and to preſerve and
" perpetuate one and the ſame ſpirit, what a fluctuation of doc-
" trines, what ſingularities, what diſorders, have you not reaſon
" to expect, where every citizen, who has the leaſt talent for wri-
" ting, may, with impunity, engage the attention of the public to
" his reveries, and attack the fundamental principles of ſociety?"

But that a man obſcurely born, who has acquired immenſe poſſeſſions, ſhould proudly erect a public edifice, into which none but children of illuſtrious families can gain admittance, what is it but the frenzy of a groveling and ſtupid vanity? Does it not ſuggeſt to the ſpectators, who contemplate that edifice, ſuch an expoſtulation as this: "Wretch that you are, "did it become you to form ſuch an inſtitution; you, "who are of the meaneſt extraction, to ſpeak the "language of that pride to which you dedicate this "monument? Had it exiſted before you were born, "had the ſame terms of admiſſion been then pre-"ſcribed which you have impoſed, could it have "been an aſylum to your obſcure and indigent child-"hood? Your pride thought to diſguiſe the diſtreſs "of your birth. . . . . I will not ſay its baſeneſs; "though you deſerve the reproach; for you have "diſcovered the baſeneſs of your heart, and the little-"neſs of your ſoul. . . . . You are even the dupe "of your own vanity. You record what you ſought "to conceal. Throw open this aſylum to every "child of diſtreſs, however born; then will men be-"lieve that you were *noble*, and even that *man of qua-"lity* which you pretended to be, or they will feel "indignant that you were not ſo (6)."

(V) The

(6) *In the above note, the author alludes to the convent of St. Cyr, for the reception of diſtreſſed young women of quality, founded by Madame de Maintenon, who was firſt miſtreſs, and after-*

(V) The party which has been long oppreſſed becomes, in its turn, the oppreſſor. *Adeò moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquare velle ſimulando ita ſe quiſque extollit, ut deprimat alium in difficili eſt. Cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultrò ſe efficiunt, et injuriam à nobis repulſam, tanquam aut facere aut pati neceſſe ſit, injungimus aliis.* Liv. lib. iii. cap. 65.

(W) In an account of the life of the count of Panin, which has been tranſlated out of the Ruſſian language into French, we find the following paſſage: "His father's ſoul was as noble as his birth; *fourteen* " *thouſand peaſants were all he was worth*; *yet moderate* " *as this fortune was*, and notwithſtanding the then " ſituation of his country, he neglected nothing in " the education of his children." Such are the ſentiments, the moderation, the poverty, and the virtues of hereditary patricians.

(X) *Contemtor animus, & ſuperbia, commune nobilitatis malum.* Bell. Jug. 64.

(Y) Whenever

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afterwards married, to Lewis XIV, and to the Ecole Militaire, *inſtituted by M. Paris Duverney, a farmer general of very obſcure birth, for the education of ſuch of the young nobility as are without fortunes. The note is followed in the original by a long vindication of M. Duverney, tranſmitted to the author, as he informs us, by a gentleman of unqueſtionable veracity, and which tends to prove that M. Duverney's foundation was originally formed on a more liberal and rational plan, but that it was narrowed and perverted by the abſurd policy of the French government.* NOTE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

(Y) Whenever a Chineſe is preferred to the rank of mandarin, his father and mother are immediately entitled to the ſame honours as himſelf; and if his merit is very ſignal, titles of honour are given to his anceſtors, aſcending ſometimes to the tenth generation.

(Z) *Virtus generis* is the expreſſion of Plutarch; an expreſſion much more philoſophical than that of Ariſtotle, who, according to Charron, defines nobility to be *antiquity of lineage and of riches.* One would have thought that Ariſtotle had written in the ſame country, in which father Meneſtrier publiſhed a treatiſe on *true nobility*, and another on emblems, which he calls THE PHILOSOPHY OF IMAGES.

(AA) This cuſtom deſtroys thoſe ſentiments of decorum, which, next to the laws, or indeed better than the laws, govern ſociety, by ſubſtituting in the room of that regard which is due to ſuperiority of age, the reſpect of an old man for a youth his ſuperior in rank. This cuſtom corrupts even the ſentiments of nature, by mingling the expreſſion of filial veneration with the homage due to rank. At Roſny, in the pompous manſion of the French Ariſtides, of the wealthy Cato of modern monarchies, are ſtill ſhewn two ſtone benches, where that illuſtrious knight of ſuch ancient race enjoyed domeſtic comfort with his family, himſelf ſeated, and all the reſt of the family ſtanding uncovered, near a bench facing him. . . . . I am wrong, perhaps: but I prefer the ſtick beſtrode by Ageſilaus playing with his children. Between the great

great men of antiquity, and the moſt celebrated characters of modern times, there is much the ſame difference, as between the talents of Tacitus and of father Daniel. How happens this? Many cauſes might be aſſigned; and the *minutiæ* of ceremonial which debaſe hiſtory, and cramp men's underſtandings, is by no means the leaſt.

(BB) This is not only a philoſophical truth: it is even matter of mathematical calculation, the moſt ſimple and eaſy to be demonſtrated. As thus: it will be admitted, that a man is but of the half blood of the family of his father, the other half belonging to the maternal ſide; and when the ſon marries in another family, the father's blood deſcends to the grandſon only in the proportion of - - $\frac{1}{4}$
to the great grandſon of - - $\frac{1}{8}$
to the next generation of - - $\frac{1}{16}$
and to the next of - - - $\frac{1}{32}$
and ſo on progreſſively, till, at the ninth generation, which will live about three hundred years hence, the blood of a preſent knight of the order of *Cincinnatus* will compoſe only one 512th part of the blood of the man, who will be decorated with the order; which, admitting the conjugal fidelity of American wives, during nine generations, to be unimpeachable, deſerves ſo little regard, that there is not one rational man, who, for the chance of ſuch a trivial advantage, would riſk incurring the jealouſy, envy, and ill-will of his countrymen.

Let us now, after this very ſimple calculation, trace the genealogy of this young nobleman, of this 512th part of a knight of the preſent day, in the aſcending lines, through the nine generations, from which he will derive his exiſtence, up to the period when the order was inſtituted.

He will have a father and a mother -	2	
each of whom will have had a father and a mother, that is 4 individuals -	4	
who having each of them had a father and a mother, give at the third generation - - - -	8	
at the preceding - - -	16	1022
at the next - - -	32	
at the next - - -	64	
then - - - -	128	
then - - - -	256	
and finally, at the ninth generation upwards - - -	512	

All of whom muſt exiſt at the preſent moment, to contribute each his proportion to the future knight of *Cincinnatus*.

TOTAL ONE THOUSAND AND TWENTY-TWO ANCESTORS OF THE AFORESAID KNIGHT.

So that to produce hereafter a thouſand of theſe knights, there muſt exiſt in the preſent, and in the intermediate generations, one million and twenty-two thouſand fathers and mothers, who contribute to the production.

Now

Now conſider, I entreat you, whether, when a juſt eſtimate is made of the madmen, profligates, rogues, royaliſts, and proſtitutes, who muſt neceſſarily be found among this million of predeceſſors, poſterity will have much reaſon to boaſt of the noble blood of the then exiſting *Cincinnati*. Even the gencalogiſt of theſe knights, while he proves their title to the honour traced through ſo many generations, muſt at the ſame time prove, how ſmall a part of it they have a right to claim, ſince the preceding geometrical progreſſion demonſtrates, that the right to the honour of the anceſtor diminiſhes in proportion to the antiquity of the family.

I can diſcover but one anſwer to this. The preſent *Cincinnatus* muſt ſay ingenuouſly, "Your cal-
" culation is correct: but you have forgotten to take
" into the account one principal ingredient, MY
" VANITY; which is incomputable and immeaſura-
" ble: which already dwells and enjoys itſelf in the
" perſon of the future beloved *Cincinnatus*, the frac-
" tion of my ninth deſcendant, whoſe exiſtence will
" recall me to memory, and whoſe name will give
" new life to mine. This is the noble intereſt, the
" ſublime idea, to which I ſacrifice my preſent
" ſafety, and the future happineſs of generations to
" come."

(CC) *Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem, & hæc ad æternam gloriam via .... hic eſt vetuſtiſſimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adſcribant.*

Quippe & omnium aliorum nomina Deorum & quæ ſupra retuli ſiderum, ex hominum nata ſunt meritis. Plin. Lib. ii. cap. 7.

(DD) It was not Poets, but the Roman Senate, which in the lifetime of Cæſar had an inſcription engraved under his ſtatue in the Capitol, giving him the name of DEMI-GOD (Dio. lib. 43), and it was in anſwer to Senators, who came to give Cæſar an account of their deliberations how to find new honours for him, that he ſaid, *You ought rather to think about reſuming ſome of thoſe, which you have already decreed me.* Plutarch. in vita Cæſ.

(EE) *Inviſi Diis immortalibus.* Liv.

(FF) It is diſorder ſanctified by public authority. It is a *ſtill Chaos.*

(GG) The Engliſh nobility ought perhaps to be excepted from this cenſure. But the reaſon is, becauſe they differ eſſentially from every other European nobility, and particularly from that of France.

1ſt. The nobility of England form an eſſential part of the Engliſh conſtitution, whereas with the French conſtitution, (if that be not indeed an imaginary being,) nothing is leſs connected than the French nobility; which, as I have obſerved elſewhere, does not even conſtitute a body, while the very mechanics in France are formed into corporations.

2dly. The Engliſh nobility have peculiar privileges belonging to them as a body, as a judicial body, which

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is recruited from among chancellors and diſtinguiſhed lawyers, and men of merit in every profeſſion; and not like in France, where the nobility are created excluſively from among the armed ſatellites of the prince, or from among ſecretaries, clerks, and the farmers of the revenue. The exertion of theſe privileges of the Engliſh nobility has more than once ſaved the conſtitution. The nobles of France have no privileges but as individuals, and the privileges of noble individuals are always oppreſſive of the individuals who are not noble.

3dly. In England the quality of noble belongs to none but to the peers of the realm; that is, to none but *dukes*, *marquiſſes*, *earls*, *viſcounts*, and *barons*. But in France, birth confers it on perſons who have neither titles nor eſtates: it may be bought for money by the meaneſt individuals, of the meaneſt ranks in ſociety. It is uſually nothing more than a ſpeculation of finance, which may multiply noblemen without end, and which has already multiplied them to the moſt pitiful degree of deriſion.

4thly. Nobility in England is tranſmiſſible only to the eldeſt ſons of peers, or to the next heir where the title is deſcendible in the collateral branches. The youngeſt ſons of dukes indeed bear the title of *lord*; but this is only by courteſy, in the ſame manner as the daughters of earls take the title of *lady*. They do not tranſmit it to their children, who have no other diſtinction than that of having the epithet *honourable* prefixed to their names. They have no legal right to the title, and it ceaſes at the ſecond generation. The

younger ſons of noblemen being thus ranked in the claſs merely of *gentlemen*, form (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) the bond of union between peers and commoners. It is eaſy to obſerve, that at the ſame time that the member of the houſe of commons, who may be raiſed by his prince's favour to the peerage, reſpects the peers, among whoſe number he hopes one day to be (without forgetting however that he may poſſibly never be a peer, and conſequently that it would be imprudent to infringe upon the rights of commoners, whoſe equal he is without the ſlighteſt diſtinction in point of right) the peer too reflects that only one of his children will ſhare the privileges of peerage, and that all the reſt will be only *gentlemen*.

(HH) M. Æmilius Scaurus being violently ſuſpected of having kindled the ſocial war in Italy, through gratitude for the gold, which he had received from Mithridates, as he had formerly for a ſimilar conſideration ſaved Jugurtha, was accuſed before the people, together with Cotta and Mummius. Cotta retired into voluntary baniſhment. Mummius was exiled to Delos. Scaurus, at the age of ſeventy-two, appeared in the forum, leaning upon ſome young patricians, and addreſſed the people in theſe words; "Are you, "Romans, to be the judges of my actions? Your fa- "thers were the witneſſes of them. Yet I will abide "by your judgment. *One Varius of Sucrona accuſes* "*Marcus Æmilius of having betrayed the republic to a* "*a king of Pontus. Marcus Æmilius, chief of the* "*ſenate, denies it. Which will you believe?*".....;

Inſtantly

Inſtantly the clamours of the people compelled the accuſer to abandon his proſecution. Firmneſs, without doubt, often holds the place of reaſon in the judgment of the people; but the origin of the Æmilian family, which was that of Scaurus, was loſt in the darkneſs of antiquity. Scaurus too had received conſular and triumphal honours; and the people, that people, who are calumniated with ſo much perſeverance, and with ſuch a univerſal conſent, are ever the dupes of their generoſity. Every ſemblance of magnanimity ſurpriſes and tranſports them. They muſt be guarded from themſelves. I repreſent to myſelf *Cincinnati* leſs virtuous than the American officers. I ſee them treating all my objections as vain ſophiſms, and pathetically complaining, that envy endeavours to ſnatch from them a reward, which they have themſelves been forward to diſarm of every thing alarming. Or I ſee them admitting the conſequences which I inſiſt on, but exclaiming, that to apprehend any thing of the kind from them were monſtrous: that to tear their ribband from them were to fix an eternal ſtigma on the deliverers of their country: and this merely for an error of their patriotiſm, which they have themſelves amply repaired..... In a moment perhaps theſe vain pretexts would operate like Cæſar's garment.

(II) Scipio Africanus refuſed to let his ſtatue be enſhrined among thoſe of the gods. *Voluerunt imaginem ejus triumphali ornatu indutam capitolinis pulvinaribus applicare.* Val. Max. L. iv. c. 1. ſ. 6.

(JJ) Venice.

(JJ) Venice. Its general at this moment is Mr. Paterſon, a Scotchman.

(KK) The Roman people had the power of electing *in comitiis calatis* all perſons who were to have any authority over them, either in the army, in the government, or in matters of religion (*Si hoc fieri non poteſt, ut in hac civitate quiſquam nullis comitiis imperium aut poteſtatem aſſequi poſſit.* Cic. de leg. agr. ii). Servius Tullius, who was firſt ſeated on the throne without the conſent of the people, changed the form of the government, in order that he might transfer all authority to the rich and the patricians, to whom he owed his own elevation (*Tum demum palam facto, & comploratione in regiâ ortâ, Servius præſidio firmo munitus, primus injuſſu populi, voluntate patrum regnavit.* Liv. lib. I. cap. 41.). Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, lib. 4. ſeems to contradict this opinion, but the two writers are eaſily reconciled by an attention to the different times they ſpeak of. See M. Boindin upon the Roman tribes.

(LL) A perſon of the name of Jenkins, about the latter end of the year 1762, or the beginning of 1763, laid the following project before my Lord Bute, to prevent not only the independence, but even the emancipation of the American colonies, and to retain them for ever in their obedience.

Firſt, He propoſed, as the moſt eſſential point, the keeping on foot moſt of the troops which were then in America, and which were diſbanded, or recalled at the

the peace. The forts, which are ſcattered along the frontier of the Indians, and which have been demoliſhed or abandoned, were to be preſerved. New ones were to be erected on the coaſt, *againſt the invaſions of the French*. The lands granted to the veterans were always to be within the precincts of a fort, which, on the frontiers eſpecially, muſt have quickly formed very reſpectable military townſhips.

The creation of a certain number of biſhops of the church of England formed the ſecond article of his project. They were to be eſtabliſhed firſt at Philadelphia, Maryland, New-York, and the two Carolinas. Jenkins was very little apprehenſive of any oppoſition that might be made by theſe colonies; and as to the remonſtrances of the four anti-epiſcopal provinces, which compoſe New England, they would have been too feeble in themſelves, or the general popularity and influence of Great Britain, at the moment of the peace, would have been too great, to prevent the eſtabliſhments from taking place in the other provinces. Jenkins did not concern himſelf about their murmurs: he went on quietly with his project, and flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, before many years had elapſed, to eſtabliſh ſome biſhops *in partibus* in New England itſelf. The biſhops were at firſt to receive each of them a very ample revenue from the government; but ſoon afterwards they were to have grants of lands in the different provinces proportioned to their rank. The author of this project was well perſuaded that, before the end of

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ten years, every biſhop would have had a cathedral, and a chapter compoſed of deans and canons, as in England. Theſe dignitaries were eaſily provided for by ſimilar grants. It muſt not be forgotten, that to this eſtabliſhment he added a royal univerſity.

Thirdly, He created an unlimited number of baronets and hereditary noblemen (whoſe wives would of courſe take the title of *lady*), ſelected from among the richeſt and moſt powerful citizens. The councils of the reſpective governors, which formed a kind of houſe of peers, was to be compoſed of none but theſe hereditary noblemen, but with different modifications in each colony, and always with ſuch exceptions, as the government in its wiſdom ſhould think fit to reſerve to itſelf.

Obſerve that it was Jenkins's deſign to have the whole ſyſtem eſtabliſhed at once: the biſhops, the nobility, the army, and the univerſity: all was to appear at the ſame moment. The enthuſiaſm for England was then at its higheſt pitch. The Engliſh were every where regarded as the deliverers of America from the devouring ambition of France. They were covered with glory in every quarter of the world. Who could, or who durſt, have imputed to them any other motives, than thoſe of a tender and experienced parent, deſirous to eſtabliſh her children after having ſaved them from ſhipwreck?

Thomas Jenkins died in 1772. He was once a clerk in the exciſe-office, then a factor in the Caro-

linas

linas and Pennſylvania, and afterwards he had ſome employment in the Engliſh army which conquered Canada. He believed ſincerely that this project was calculated to ſecure the peace and happineſs of America. It was, at leaſt, neither ſanguinary nor abſurd.

(MM) This fragment is part of a letter* from Mr. Turgot to Dr. Price, which is printed in the ſequel of this volume. It contains the moſt profound and judicious obſervations that ever have been made upon the defects of the American conſtitutions, and the means of removing them. Never was a ſublime genius more ſucceſsfully actuated by the philoſophy of a ſtateſman, and of a ſincere friend of liberty and of mankind, than in this work: it diſcovers the heart of Fenelon, united with a much more comprehenſive underſtanding.

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* This letter has been lately publiſhed, for the firſt time, in a work of Dr. Price's, entitled, "Obſervations on the importance "of the American revolution, and the means to make it a benefit "to the world." This work cannot be too warmly recommended to the Americans. It abounds with judicious obſervations, ſagacious projects, and uſeful advice; and breathes throughout a ſpirit of philanthropy, and a love of freedom.

THE END OF THE NOTES.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THE wiſhes of the patriot, whoſe uſeful obſervations we have here preſented to the public (1), have not been diſappointed. America has inhabitants, it ſeems, who do not conſider philoſophical and political truths as mere abſtractions.

Rhode Iſland, a diſtinguiſhed nurſery of wiſe and intrepid republicans, has ANNULLED THE PRIVILEGES OF ALL THE SUBJECTS OF ITS STATE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THIS SOCIETY, AND DECLARED THEM INCAPABLE OF ANY OFFICE UNDER GOVERNMENT.

Pennſylvania could not be the laſt to diſcover and point out the dangers of ſuch an inſtitution. The adoptive country of the immortal Franklin (2), will not ceaſe to be enlightened by

(1) See the advertiſement.

(2) That wonderful man was born at Boſton, in New England, on the 17th of January 1706, but he has paſſed the greater part of his life in Pennſylvania, and he was a member of the legiſlative body of that ſtate at the time of he revolution.

by his genius, and to poſſeſs citizens worthy to be his countrymen. A committee of both houſes of the general court of that ſtate, appointed to enquire into the exiſtence, nature, object, and probable tendency or effect of the ſociety of the *Cincinnati*, have made a report upon the ſubject very unfavourable indeed to the order (3).

The ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, which may be truly ſaid to be the author of American liberty, and which has always diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the confederation by the firmneſs and ſagacity of its reſolutions, has lately declared in a committee of both houſes of the legiſlature, THAT THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IS UNJUSTIFIABLE, AND THAT IF NOT PROPERLY DISCOUNTENANCED IT MAY BE DANGEROUS TO THE PEACE, LIBERTY, AND SAFETY OF THE UNITED STATES. The report of this committee, which was read to the two houſes duly aſſembled, and was by them approved after mature deliberation, is very deſerving of the attention of the public. It is in theſe words.

" I. That

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(3) This report is printed in the Pennſylvania Journal of the 14th of April.

'I. That the exiſtence of the ſaid ſociety,
'appears by an atteſted copy of their inſtitu-
'tion; and by the ſaid inſtitution it alſo ap-
'pears to be formed, not under the ſanction
'or patronage of any legiſlative authority
'whatever; but ſelf-created, and founded upon
'the following principles which are to be im-
'mutable, viz.' "*an inceſſant attention to pre-*
"*ſerve inviolate, thoſe exalted rights and liberties*
"*of human nature for which they have fought and*
"*bled, and without which the rank of a rational*
"*being is a curſe* (1) *inſtead of a bleſſing;*" 'and'
"*an unalterable determination to promote and*
"*cheriſh, between the reſpective ſtates, that union*
"*and national honour ſo eſſentially neceſſary to their*
"*happineſs, and the future dignity of the American*
"*empire.*" 'And it alſo propoſes, as an object,'
"*to render permanent and cordial the affection ſub-*
"*ſiſting among the officers, which ſpirit will dic-*
"*tate brotherly kindneſs in all things, and parti-*
"*cularly*

(1) To be a rational being can never be a *curſe*; for it is by dint of reaſon that every kind of evil is reſiſted, every kind of good acquired, every abuſe oppoſed, and every violation of natural rights, even that which the *Cincinnati* at this moment venture on, repreſſed.

" *cularly extend to the moſt ſubſtantial acts of be-*
" *neficence, according to the ability of the ſociety,*
" *towards thoſe officers and their families, who*
" *unfortunately may be under the neceſſity of re-*
" *ceiving it.*" ' And' " *at each meeting the*
" *principles of the inſtitution will be fully con-*
" *ſidered, and the beſt meaſures to promote them*
" *adopted.*"

' II. Hence it appears, that the ſaid ſociety
' takes upon itſelf the power of adopting ſuch
' meaſures, as after full conſideration they ſhall
' judge beſt, for promoting certain important,
' public and national purpoſes; for which pur-
' poſe the people of theſe united ſtates have
' conſtituted and eſtabliſhed their reſpective
' legiſlatives and congreſs.

' III. Although it is the duty of all the citi-
' zens, in their reſpective capacities and general
' conduct, to afford their aid to the ſeveral
' powers of the eſtabliſhed government, law-
' fully exerciſed, for the preſervation of the
' common rights, and promoting the union of
' thoſe confederate ſtates; yet, for any claſs of
' men to form themſelves into a ſelect ſociety,

' and

'and convene expreſsly for the purpoſe of deli-
'berating upon, judging of and adopting mea-
'ſures concerning matters, proper only for the
'cognizance of the legiſlative and their deter-
'mination thereon, or of ſuch other bodies as
'are known in the conſtitution, or authorized
'by the laws of the land, favors of a diſpoſition
'aſpiring to become independent of lawful and
'conſtitutional authority, tending, if unre-
'ſtrained, to *imperium in imperio*, and conſe-
'quently to confuſion and the ſubverſion of
'public liberty.

'IV. The ſaid ſociety, by its inſtitution,
'aſſumes alſo the power of raiſing funds, and
'receiving donations unlimited by the autho-
'rity of the legiſlature; which funds may here-
'after be increaſed to an enormous value; and
'although really intended for lawful and lauda-
'ble purpoſes, may be converted to uſes unlaw-
'ful and dangerous.

'V. Moreover, as it has been found by ex-
'perience, that power and influence are inſe-
'parable from property; and as the inſtitution
'of the ſaid ſociety provides with great cau-
'tion and preciſion for regular and ſtated meet-
'ings,

‘ ings, as well in diſtricts and ſtates, as in a
‘ general aſſembly of delegates from all the
‘ ſtates, and alſo for the moſt accurate corre-
‘ ſpondence and information, an undue influence
‘ may thence be obtained, deſtructive of the
‘ liberties of the ſtates, and the exiſtence of
‘ their free conſtitution.

‘ VI. The danger of ſuch combinations ap-
‘ pears more viſibly, not only becauſe the ori-
‘ ginal members are ſuch as have been military
‘ officers, who have been detached from the
‘ civil community, and accuſtomed to military
‘ laws, maxims, ſentiments, habits and feelings,
‘ during a war of eight years; but the order
‘ and badges by which “ the members of the
“ ſociety are to be known and diſtinguiſhed”
‘ from their fellow-citizens, are “ to be here-
“ ditary, and deſcend to their eldeſt male po-
“ ſterity, and in failure thereof, the collateral
“ branches;” and it is carefully provided, that
‘ the honorary members are to be only for their
‘ lives, and the number of ſuch members
“ ſhall not exceed a ratio of one to four of the
“ officers and their deſcendants;” thus ſecuring
‘ a decided majority in the military members
‘ and their deſcendants.

‘ VII. The

'VII. The danger as aforeſaid is by no means 'leſſened by the admiſſion of foreign military 'officers into the ſaid ſociety; who, however 'reſpectable their characters are, yet are the 'ſubjects of, and ſtrongly attached to a govern-'ment eſſentially different, in principles as well 'as form, from the republican conſtitutions in 'the united ſtates.

'VIII. Ambition, and a luſt of domination, 'are ruling paſſions of the human mind, moſt 'dangerous to civil ſociety and government; 'and paſt experience has abundantly convinced 'the world, that hereditary diſtinctions and 'oſtentatious orders ſtrike the minds of un-'thinking multitudes, and favour the views 'and deſigns of ambitious men, often iſſuing 'in hereditary nobility, which is contrary to 'the ſpirit of free governments, and expreſsly 'inhibited by an article in the confederation of 'the united ſtates.

'IX. The grateful regard, which poſterity 'may retain to the memory of thoſe men, who, 'in the cabinet or field, bore a diſtinguiſhed 'part in emancipating their country from Bri-'tiſh tyranny, and eſtabliſhing liberty and in-

'dependence,

'dependence, may probably impreſs their 'minds unduely, and reconcile them, at an un-'guarded time, to the idea of rewarding the 'families of ſuch of them, as ſhall hold the ap-'pearance of hereditary honours, with the 'uſual powers as well as the oſtentatious di-'ſtinctions of nobility.

'X. The committee, after mature delibe-'ration, are of opinion, that the ſaid ſociety, 'called the *Cincinnati*, is unjuſtifiable, and, if 'not properly diſcountenanced, may be dan-'gerous to the peace, liberty, and ſafety of the 'united ſtates in general, and this common-'wealth in particular.

'XI. The committee alſo report as their 'opinion, that it is proper the further con-'ſideration of meaſures ſuitable and neceſſary 'to be taken, with reſpect to the ſociety of 'the *Cincinnati*, be referred to the next ſitting 'of the general court.'

The governor of South Carolina has addreſſed the aſſembly of that ſtate, which was held in February laſt, with a ſpeech of conſiderable

 length,

length, in which he has pointed out the dangers which were to be dreaded from this innovation, as well to their conſtitution as to their national character; in which he has exhorted them, with great force of eloquence, to vindicate themſelves from the reproach of having fought, not for the deliverance of their country from ſlavery, but for the attainment of honours and gaudy diſtinctions; and has inveighed with true republican indignation againſt the refinements, the luxury, and the conſequent corruption, which this new-invented order muſt ſpread over the country (1).

Theſe diſpoſitions have alarmed the *Cincinnati*. They have found that the rights of men who have newly recovered their liberty, and recovered it by their own exertions, were not to be endangered with impunity. They have accordingly, in a general aſſembly of the aſſociation, held at Philadelphia on the 3d of May, modified the ſtatutes of their order. That the reader may be enabled to judge of theſe

(1) This ſpeech would have been here printed at length, as it is in the original, if the tranſlator could have procured a copy of it.

theſe modifications, the ſtatutes are here printed as they were originally, and as they have ſince been altered.

The INSTRUMENT *of* ASSOCIATION *of the* CINCINNATI.

'IT having pleaſed the ſupreme governor of 'the univerſe, in the diſpoſition of human 'affairs, to cauſe the ſeparation of the colonies 'of North America from the domination of 'Great-Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of 'eight years, to eſtabliſh them free, ſovereign, 'and independent ſtates, connected by alliances 'founded on reciprocal advantage with ſome 'of the great princes and powers of the earth:

'To perpetuate therefore, as well the re-'membrance of this great event, as the mutual 'friendſhips, which have been formed under the 'preſſure of common danger, and in many in-'ſtances cemented by the blood of the parties, 'the officers of the American army do hereby 'in the moſt ſolemn manner aſſociate, con-'ſtitute, and combine themſelves into one *ſo-'ciety of friends*, to endure as long as they ſhall 'endure, or any of their eldeſt male poſterity,

‘ and in failure thereof, the collateral branches,
‘ who may be judged worthy of becoming its
‘ supporters and members.

‘ The officers of the American army, having
‘ generally been taken from the citizens of
‘ America, poſſeſs high veneration for the cha-
‘ racter of that illuſtrious Roman, *Lucius*
‘ *Quintius Cincinnatus*; and, being reſolved to
‘ follow his example by returning to their citi-
‘ zenſhip, they think they may with propriety
‘ denominate themſelves THE SOCIETY OF THE
‘ *CINCINNATI*.

‘ The following principles ſhall be immu-
‘ table, and form the baſis of the ſociety of the
‘ *Cincinnati*.

‘ An inceſſant attention to preſerve inviolate
‘ thoſe exalted rights and liberties of human
‘ nature, for which they have fought and bled,
‘ and without which the high rank of a *rational*
‘ being is a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing.

‘ An unalterable determination to promote
‘ and cheriſh between the reſpective ſtates
‘ that union and national honour, ſo eſſentially
‘ neceſſary to their happineſs, and the future
‘ dignity of the American empire.

‘ To

' To render permanent the cordial affection ' ſubſiſting among the officers. This ſpirit will ' dictate brotherly kindneſs in all things, and ' particularly extend to the moſt ſubſtantial ' acts of beneficence, according to the ability ' of the ſociety, towards thoſe officers and their ' families, who unfortunately may be under the ' neceſſity of receiving it.

' The general ſociety will, for the ſake of ' frequent communications, be divided into ſtate ſocieties, and thoſe again into ſuch diſ- ' tricts as ſhall be directed by the ſtate ſocieties.

' The ſocieties of the diſtricts to meet as ' often as ſhall be agreed upon by the ſtate ' ſocieties; thoſe of the ſtate, on the fourth day ' of July, annually, or oftener, if they ſhould ' find it expedient; and the general ſociety on ' the firſt Monday in May, annually, ſo long as ' they ſhall deem it neceſſary; and afterwards, ' at leaſt once in three years. At each meet- ' ing the principles of the inſtitution will be ' fully conſidered, and the beſt meaſures to ' promote them adopted.

' The ſtate ſocieties will conſiſt of all the ' members reſiding in each ſtate reſpectively;

'and any member removing from one ſtate to 'another, is to be conſidered, in all reſpects, 'as belonging to the ſociety of the ſtate in 'which he ſhall actually reſide.

'The ſtate ſocieties to have a preſident, 'vice-preſident, ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſ- 'ſiſtant-treaſurer, to be choſen annually, by a 'majority of votes, at the ſtate meeting.

'Each ſtate meeting ſhall write annually, or 'oftener if neceſſary, a circular letter to the 'other ſtate ſocieties, noting whatever they 'may think worthy of obſervation, reſpecting 'the good of the ſociety, or the general union 'of the ſtates, and giving information of the 'officers choſen for the current year. Copies 'of theſe letters ſhall be regularly tranſmitted 'to the ſecretary-general of the ſociety, who 'will record them in a book to be aſſigned for 'that purpoſe.

'The ſtate ſociety will regulate every thing 'reſpecting itſelf and the ſocieties of its diſ- 'tricts, conſiſtent with the general maxims of 'the *Cincinnati*, judge of the qualifications of 'the members who may be propoſed, and expel 'any member, who, by a conduct inconſiſtent

'with

' with a gentleman and a man of honour, or by
' an oppoſition to the intereſts of the commu-
' nity in general, or the ſociety in particular,
' may render himſelf unworthy to continue a
' member.

' In order to form funds which may be re-
' ſpectable and aſſiſt the unfortunate, each
' officer ſhall deliver to the treaſurer of the
' ſtate ſociety one month's pay, which ſhall
' remain for ever to the uſe of the ſtate ſo-
' ciety, the intereſt only of which, if neceſſary,
' to be appropriated to the relief of the unfor-
' tunate.

' Donations may be made by perſons not of
' the ſociety, and by members of the ſociety,
' for the expreſs purpoſe of forming permanent
' funds for the uſe of the ſtate ſociety, and the
' intereſt of theſe donations appropriated in
' the ſame manner as that of the month's pay.

' Monies, at the pleaſure of each member,
' may be ſubſcribed in the ſocieties of the diſ-
' trict, or the ſtate ſocieties, for the relief of the
' unfortunate members, or their widows and
' orphans, to be appropriated by the ſtate
' ſociety only.

' The

'The meeting of the general ſociety ſhall
'conſiſt of its officers, and a repreſentation
'from each ſtate ſociety, in number not ex-
'ceeding five, whoſe expences ſhall be borne
'by their reſpective ſtate ſocieties.

'In the general meeting, the preſident, vice-
'preſident, ſecretary, aſſiſtant-ſecretary, trea-
'ſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurer-generals, ſhall be
'choſen to ſerve until the next meeting.

'The circular letters which have been writ-
'ten by the reſpective ſtate ſocieties to each
'other, and their particular laws, ſhall be read
'and conſidered, and all meaſures concerted
'which may conduce to the general intend-
'ment of the ſociety.

'It is probable, that ſome perſons may make
'donations to the general ſociety, for the pur-
'poſe of eſtabliſhing funds for the further
'comfort of the unfortunate; in which caſe,
'ſuch donations muſt be placed in the hands
'of the treaſurer-general, the intereſt only of
'which to be diſpoſed of, if neceſſary, by the
'general meeting.

'Alſo the officers of the American army, as
'well thoſe who have reſigned with honour,

'after

' after three years ſervice in the capacity of
' officers, or who have been deranged by the
' reſolution of congreſs upon the ſeveral re-
' forms of the army, as thoſe who ſhall have
' continued to the end of the war, have the
' right to become parties in this inſtitution;
' provided that they ſubſcribe one month's
' pay, and ſign their names to the general
' rules in their reſpective ſtate ſocieties; thoſe
' who are preſent with the army, immediately;
' and others, within ſix months after the army
' ſhall be diſbanded, extraordinary caſes ex-
' cepted. The rank, time of ſervice, reſolu-
' tion of congreſs by which any have been de-
' ranged, and place of reſidence, muſt be added
' to each name: and as a teſtimony of affection
' to the memory and offspring of ſuch officers
' as have died in the ſervice, their eldeſt male
' branches ſhall have the ſame right of be-
' coming members as the children of the actual
' members of the ſociety.

'Thoſe officers who are foreigners, not re-
' ſident in any of the ſtates, will have their
' names enrolled by the ſecretary-general, and
' are to be conſidered as members in the ſocieties
' of any of the ſtates, in which they may happen
' to be.

' And

'And as there are, and will at all times be, 'men in the reſpective ſtates, eminent for 'their abilities and patriotiſm, whoſe views 'may be directed to the ſame laudable objects 'with thoſe of the *Cincinnati*, it ſhall be a rule 'to admit ſuch characters as honorary members 'of the ſociety for their own lives only. Pro-'vided always, that the number of honorary 'members in each ſtate, does not exceed a 'ratio of one to four of the officers or their 'deſcendants.

'Each ſtate ſociety ſhall obtain a liſt of its 'members; and at the firſt annual meeting the 'ſtate ſecretary ſhall have, engroſſed on parch-'ment, two copies of the inſtitution of the 'ſociety, which every member preſent ſhall 'ſign; and the ſecretary ſhall endeavour to 'procure the ſignature of every abſent mem-'ber: one of theſe liſts to be tranſmitted to 'the ſecretary-general, to be kept in the ar-'chives of the ſociety, and the other to remain 'in the hands of the ſtate ſecretary.

'From the ſtate liſts the ſecretary-general 'muſt make out, at the firſt general meeting, 'a complete liſt of the whole ſociety, a copy 'of which he will furniſh each ſtate ſecretary.

'The

'The ſociety ſhall have an *order* by which its 'members ſhall be known and diſtinguiſhed; 'which ſhall be a medal of gold, of a proper 'ſize to receive the emblems, and ſuſpended 'by a deep-blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged 'with white, deſcriptive of the union of Ame-'rica and France, viz.

'The principal figure to be *Cincinnatus*, three 'ſenators preſenting him with a ſword and 'other military enſigns: on a field in the back 'ground his wife ſtanding at the door of their 'cottage; near it a plough and other inſtruments 'of huſbandry. Round the whole, *omnia reliquit 'ſervare rempublicam* (1). On the reverſe, the 'ſun riſing, a city with open gates, and veſſels 'entering the port; fame crowning *Cincinnatus* 'with a wreath, inſcribed, *virtutis præmium*. 'Below, hands joining, ſupporting a heart; 'with the motto, *eſto perpetua*. Round the 'whole, *ſocietas Cincinnatorum, inſtituta A. D.* '1783.

'The

(1) *The* Cincinnati *need not be aſhamed of their ignorance of the learned languages; on the contrary they may well pride themſelves on the contempt of a knowledge which has ſo little availed the maſters of it* (parum placebat eas diſcere quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt.) *Nothing but their affecting the uſe of thoſe languages can render their ignorance ridiculous.*

'The ſociety, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe
'of the general aſſiſtance this country has re-
'ceived from France, and deſirous of perpetua-
'ting the friendſhips, which have been formed,
'and ſo happily ſubſiſted, between the officers
'of the allied forces, in the proſecution of the
'war, direct that the preſident-general tranſ-
'mit, as ſoon as may be, to each of the cha-
'racters hereafter mentioned, a medal contain-
'ing the order of the ſociety

'Done at Annapolis the 21ſt of November
'in the year 1783.'

Signed by the commander in chief, the general officers, and delegates of the ſeveral regiments and corps of the army.

The INSTITUTION *of the* SOCIETY *of the CINCINNATI, as altered and amended at their firſt general meeting.*

'IT having pleaſed the ſupreme governor
'of the univerſe to give ſucceſs to the arms
'of our country, and to eſtabliſh the united
'ſtates free and independent: therefore, grate-
'fully to commemorate this event,—to incul-
'cate

'cate to the lateſt ages the duty of laying
'down in peace, arms aſſumed for public de-
'fence, by forming an inſtitution which re-
'cognizes that moſt important principle,—to
'continue the mutual friendſhips which com-
'menced under the preſſure of common danger
'and to effectuate the acts of beneficence, dic-
'tated by the ſpirit of brotherly kindneſs, to-
'wards thoſe officers and their families, who
'unfortunately may be under the neceſſity of
'receiving them; the officers of the American
'army do hereby conſtitute themſelves into
'*A ſociety of friends*: and, poſſeſſing the
'higheſt veneration for the character of that
'illuſtrious Roman, *Lucius Quintius Cincin-
'natus*, denominate themſelves THE SOCIETY
'OF THE CINCINNATI.

Section I. 'The perſons who conſtitute this
'ſociety, are all the commiſſioned and brevet
'officers of the army and navy of the united
'ſtates, who have ſerved three years, and who
'left the ſervice with reputation; all officers
'who were in actual ſervice at the concluſion
'of the war; all the principal ſtaff officers of
'the continental army; and the officers who
'have been deranged by the ſeveral reſolutions
'of congreſs, upon the different reforms of the
'army.

Sect. II.

Sect. II. ‘ There are alſo admitted into this ‘ ſociety, the late and preſent miniſters of his ‘ moſt Chriſtian majeſty to the united ſtates; ‘ all the generals and colonels of regiments and ‘ legions of the land forces; all the admirals ‘ and captains of the navy, ranking as colonels, ‘ who have co-operated with the armies of the ‘ united ſtates in their exertions for liberty; ‘ and ſuch other perſons as have been admitted ‘ by the reſpective ſtate-meetings.

Sect. III. ‘ The ſociety ſhall have a preſi- ‘ dent, vice-preſident, ſecretary, and aſſiſtant ‘ ſecretary.

Sect. IV. ‘ There ſhall be a meeting of the ‘ ſociety, at leaſt once in three years on the ‘ firſt Monday in May, at ſuch place as the ‘ preſident ſhall appoint.

‘ The ſaid meeting ſhall conſiſt of the afore- ‘ ſaid officers (whoſe expences ſhall be equally ‘ borne by the ſtate funds) and a repreſenta- ‘ tion from each ſtate.

‘ The buſineſs of this general meeting ſhall ‘ be,—to regulate the diſtribution of ſurplus ‘ funds;—to appoint officers for the enſuing ‘ term,

' term,—and to conform the bye-laws of ſtate-
' meetings to the general objects of the inſtitu-
' tion.

Sect. V. ' The ſociety ſhall be divided into
' ſtate-meetings: each meeting ſhall have a
' preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary and trea-
' ſurer, reſpectively to be choſen by a majority
' of votes annually.

Sect. VI. ' The ſtate-meetings ſhall be on
' the anniverſary of independence. They ſhall
' concert ſuch meaſures as may conduce to the
' benevolent purpoſes of the ſociety; and the
' ſeveral ſtate-meetings ſhall, at ſuitable periods,
' make application to their reſpective legiſla-
' tures for grants of charters.

Sect. VII. ' Any member removing from
' one ſtate to another, is to be conſidered, in
' all reſpects, as belonging to the meeting of
' the ſtate in which he ſhall actually reſide.

Sect. VIII. ' The ſtate-meeting ſhall judge
' of the qualification of its members, admoniſh,
' and (if neceſſary) expel any one who may
' conduct himſelf unworthily.

Sect. IX. ‘ The ſecretary of each ſtate-
‘ meeting ſhall regiſter the names of the mem-
‘ bers reſident in each ſtate, and tranſmit a
‘ copy thereof to the ſecretary of the ſociety.

Sect. X. ‘ In order to form funds for the re-
‘ lief of unfortunate members, their widows
‘ and orphans, each officer ſhall deliver to the
‘ treaſurer of the ſtate-meeting, one month's
‘ pay.

Sect. XI. ‘ No donation ſhall be received
‘ but from the citizens of the united ſtates.

Sect XII. ‘ The funds of each ſtate-meeting
‘ ſhall be loaned to the ſtate, by permiſſion of
‘ the legiſlature, and the intereſt only, annually
‘ to be applied for the purpoſes of the ſociety;
‘ and, if, in proceſs of time, difficulties ſhould
‘ occur in executing the intentions of this ſo-
‘ ciety, the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates ſhall
‘ be entitled to make ſuch equitable diſpoſi-
‘ tion as may be moſt correſpondent with the
‘ original deſign of the inſtitution.

Sect. XIII. ‘ The ſubjects of his moſt
‘ Chriſtian majeſty, members of this ſociety,
‘ may hold meetings at their pleaſure, and
‘ form

' form regulations for their police, conformable
' to the objects of the inſtitution, and to the
' ſpirit of their government.

Sect. XIV. ' The ſociety ſhall have an order;
' which ſhall be a bald eagle of gold, bearing on
' its breaſt the emblems hereafter deſcribed (1),
' ſuſpended by a deep blue ribbon edged with
' white, deſcriptive of the union of America
' and France (2).

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(1) They are exactly the ſame as are deſcribed in the firſt inſtrument of aſſociation.

(2) Moſt of the obſervations which theſe new regulations ſuggeſt, will be found in the comment which I have taken the liberty to make upon the circular letter, ſigned by General Waſhington.

CIRCULAR LETTER,

Addreſſed to the ſtate ſocieties of the CINCINNATI, *by the general meeting convened at Philadelphia on the 3d of May* 1784, *and ſigned by General Waſhington as preſident of the order.*

' Gentlemen,

' WE, the delegates of the *Cincinnati*, after ' the moſt mature and deliberate diſcuſſion of ' the principles and objects of our ſociety, ' have thought proper to recommend that the ' incloſed inſtitution of the ſociety of the *Cin-* ' *cinnati*, as altered and amended at their firſt ' meeting, ſhould be adopted by your ſtate ' ſociety.

' In order that our conduct on this occaſion ' may ſtand approved in the eyes of the world; ' that we may not incur the imputation of ob- ' ſtinacy on the one hand, or levity on the ' other (1); and that you may be induced

' more

---

(1) It is an unpleaſant dilemma for the perſons with whom Waſhington is aſſociated, and over whom he is preſident, to find themſelves avowedly preſſed between the reproach of *obſtinacy on the one hand, and of levity on the other:*

'more chearfully to comply with our recom-
'mendation, we beg leave to communicate
'the reaſons on which we have acted.

'Previous to our laying them before you, we
'hold it a duty to ourſelves and to our fellow-
'citizens to declare, and we call heaven to
'witneſs the veracity of our declaration (2),
'that, in our whole agency on the ſubject, we
'have been actuated by the pureſt principles.
'Notwithſtanding we are thus conſcious for
'ourſelves of the rectitude of our intentions in
'inſtituting or becoming members of this

---

other: the reproach of *levity* might one way have been avoided, by doing nothing without the authority and ſanction of government; as to their *obſtinacy*, it would become *rebellion* after the legiſlature had declared its will.

(2) HONOUR THE GODS AND RESPECT OATHS * was the firſt precept of the ancients. True reſpect for oaths is to abſtain from the uſe of them; for the ſureſt way not to abuſe is not to uſe them. A republic is loſt when oaths ceaſe to be the grand myſtery of its politics †.

* Καὶ σεβε ὅρκον.

† The emperor Maximin uſed to call oaths, *the grand myſtery of the Roman republic*, τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς σεμνὸν μυςήριον. *Herodian. l.* 8.

'fraternity (3); and notwithſtanding we are
'confident the higheſt evidence can be pro-
'duced from your paſt, and will be given by
'your future behaviour, that you could not
'have been influenced by any other motives
'than

(3) The expreſſion is remarkable. The *Cincinnati* are then by their own confeſſion a military FRATERNITY; but what were the knights templars, the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, thoſe of the Teutonic order, and thoſe of St. Lazarus, but FRATERNITIES? And are ſuch FRATERNITIES a very republican *acquiſition?* The congreſs thinks otherwiſe, ſince it would not permit any of the American officers to be admitted into the order of divine providence*. It thinks otherwiſe, ſince the plan of a provincial government propoſed for the ten new ſtates, and afterwards adopted and paſſed into a law, contains the following article:

"THE

* Reſolution of congreſs of the 5th of January 1784. Upon the report of the committee to whom had been referred a letter from the commander in chief, dated the 28th of Auguſt, containing a propoſal on the part of the ſecretary of the Poliſh order of divine providence, that the congreſs ſhould nominate a certain number of perſons proper to be created knights of that order, RESOLVED; "That the commander in chief be "deſired to inform the Chevalier Jean de Hintz, ſecretary to the order "of divine providence, that the congreſs is ſenſible of the attention of "that order in propoſing the nomination of a certain number of perſons "proper to be created knights of divine providence; but that the congreſs "cannot conſiſtently with the principles of the confederation accept their "obliging propoſal."

‘ than thoſe of friendſhip, patriotiſm, and be-
‘ nevolence (4): yet, as the inſtrument of our
‘ aſſociation was of neceſſity drawn up in a haſty
‘ manner (5), at an epocha as extraordinary as
‘ it

“ THE FORMS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS
“ SHALL BE REPUBLICAN, AND NO PERSON POSSESS-
“ ING AN HEREDITARY TITLE SHALL BE A CITIZEN
“ OF THESE STATES.”

(4) Singular patriotiſm! by which men ſeclude themſelves from their country! *Benevolence*—by which *is to be underſtood protection.* Does it then become ſubjects to protect their ſovereign?

(5) The inſtrument of aſſociation of men ſo diſtinguiſhed, which tends to raiſe a new body in the commonwealth, was *drawn up in a haſty manner!* Why that precipitancy? The ſtates of Maſſachuſetts and Pennſylvania, in the memorable preambles to their conſtitutions, “ acknowledge the goodneſs of the great legiſlator of the “ univerſe in affording them, in the courſe of his providence, an opportunity, *deliberately* and peaceably, “ without fraud, violence, or ſurpriſe, of entering into “ an original, explicit, and ſolemn compact with each “ other, and of forming a new conſtitution of civil government for themſelves and their poſterity.” To violate thoſe conſtitutional laws, which were made *deliberately, and without ſurpriſe,* by the inſtrument of an unconſtitutional aſſociation, *drawn up in a haſty manner,* what is it but to inſult *that goodneſs of the great legiſlator of the univerſe?*

‘ it will be memorable in the annals of man-
‘ kind—when the mind, agitated by a variety
‘ of emotions, was not at liberty to attend (6)
‘ minutely to every circumſtance which re-
‘ ſpected our ſocial connection, or to digeſt our
‘ ideas into ſo correct a form as could have
‘ been wiſhed; as the original inſtitution ap-
‘ peared in the opinion of many reſpectable
‘ characters to have comprehended objects
‘ which are deemed incompatible with the
‘ genius and ſpirit of the confederation; and as
‘ in this caſe it would eventually fruſtrate our
‘ purpoſes, and be productive of conſequences
‘ which we had not foreſeen;—therefore, to
‘ remove every cauſe of inquietude, to anni-
‘ hilate every ſource of jealouſy (7), to deſig-
‘ nate explicitly the ground on which we wiſh
‘ to ſtand, and to give one more proof that
‘ the

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(6) Was then the inſtitution of an illegal and unconſtitutional order of knighthood a matter ſo urgent, as to render it impoſſible to wait till men might be AT LIBERTY TO ATTEND to the conſequences of ſuch a project?

(7) If you would annihilate EVERY SOURCE OF JEALOUSY, throw away your medals, and tear into pieces your inſtrument of aſſociation.

‘ the late officers of the American army have a
‘ claim to be reckoned among the moſt faith-
‘ ful citizens, we have agreed that the following
‘ material alterations and amendments ſhould
‘ take place: that the hereditary ſucceſſion
‘ ſhould be aboliſhed—that all interference
‘ with political ſubjects ſhould be done away,—
‘ and that the funds ſhould be placed under the
‘ immediate cogniſance of the ſeveral legiſla-
‘ tures, who ſhould alſo be requeſted to grant
‘ charters (8) for more effectually carrying our
‘ humane deſigns into execution (9).

‘ In

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(8) Why CHARTERS? only one *charter* is neceſſary in a country, and eſpecially in a republic; the charter of general aſſociation; the PACTA CONVENTA of the country. If *charters* be granted, a corporation is eſtabliſhed, and a military corporation! If *charters* be granted, a diſtinct body is engrafted into the ſtate, and ſome kind of inheritance, or, at leaſt, a perpetuity will infallibly follow. *Charters* have been granted in Europe to monks, whoſe privileges, though ſtrictly forbidden to be deſcendible, failed not to become perpetual.

(9) No CHARTERS are neceſſary to exerciſe charity: none but what every man has received from nature. No body of men has a right to arrogate to itſelf the diſpenſation of the public bounty.

'In giving our reaſons for the alteration of 'the firſt article we muſt aſk your indulgence 'while we recall your attention to the original 'occaſion which induced us to form ourſelves 'into a ſociety of friends. Having lived in 'the ſtricteſt habits of amity (10) through the 'various ſtages of a war, unparallelled in many of 'its circumſtances; having ſeen the objects for 'which we contended, happily attained; in the 'moment of triumph and ſeparation, when we 'were about to act the laſt pleaſing melancholy 'ſcene in our military drama,—pleaſing, be-'cauſe we were to leave our country poſſeſſed 'of independence and peace—melancholy, be-'cauſe we were to part, perhaps never to meet 'again; while every breaſt was penetrated with 'feelings which can be more eaſily conceived 'than deſcribed; while every little act of ten-'derneſs recurred freſh to the recollection, it

'was

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(10) AMITY among ten thouſand men!...Officers who have fought valiantly in the ſame cauſe, in the ſame army, in the ſame regiment, conceive eſteem, regard, often reſpect, and ſometimes even veneration for one another, where ſignal talents have been exerted, or blood has been nobly ſhed..... FRIENDSHIP is not to be purchaſed at ſo low a rate!

‘ was impoſſible not to wiſh our friendſhips
‘ ſhould be continued; it was extremely natu-
‘ ral to deſire they might be perpetuated by
‘ our poſterity to the remoteſt ages (11). With
‘ theſe impreſſions, and with ſuch ſentiments,
‘ we candidly confeſs we ſigned the inſtitution.
‘ —We know our motives were irreproachable.
‘ —But, finding it apprehended by many of
‘ our countrymen, that this would be drawing
‘ an unjuſtifiable line of diſcrimination between
‘ our deſcendants and the reſt of the community,
‘ and averſe to the creation of unneceſſary and
‘ unpleaſing diſtinctions, we could not heſitate
‘ to relinquiſh every thing (12) but our perſonal
‘ friend-

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(11) An order, a corporation, an inſtitution of knighthood, TO TRANSMIT FRIENDSHIP, TO PERPETUATE A FRIENDSHIP among ten thouſand men, and their *poſterity!*

(12) Why then not *relinquiſh* your medals and your ribbands? Why demand charters? If the *Cincinnati* be ſuffered to ſubſiſt, it will be impoſſible to prevent their becoming hereditary, even though they ſhould for ever renounce (as they now pretend to do) that branch of their inſtitution. Nobility, I have already obſerved, dwells in opinion. Every family will preſerve the eagle of the *Cincinnatus* their anceſtor; they will refuſe to marry into

' friendſhips, of which we cannot be diveſted;
' and thoſe acts of beneficence which it is our
' intention ſhould flow from them. With views
' equally pure and diſintereſted, we propoſed
' to uſe our collective influence in ſupport of
' that government (13), and in confirmation of
' that

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into families, which cannot boaſt a ſimilar title of nobility. So that not only the order ought to be deſtroyed, but the members of it owe to their country the ſacrifice of the very medals which they wear. They ought to be brought in to the public treaſury, to be melted down, and to be applied, as far as they will extend, in payment of the debt due to the army. That is the ſpecies of affection to which an army is entitled.

(13) How! a COLLECTIVE INFLUENCE in a common-wealth, diſtinct from that of the common-wealth itſelf! What mean you by *government?* The magiſtrates choſen by the people? If ſo, to undertake their ſupport is unneceſſary: the people will ſupport them if they do their duty; if they neglect it, they will deſerve no ſupport: in no caſe ought they to be ſupported but by the people. Or do you mean that you will ſupport the ſtate? which is, indeed, very different from the government. If ſo, what force is or ought to be ſuperior to that of the ſtate: and how do you diſtinguiſh your power from that of the nation?—But it is our province to defend our country, becauſe we are ſoldiers.—Admirably confeſſed! in ſhort, you are a STANDING ARMY, that which even the nation,

once

‘ that union, the eſtabliſhment of which has
‘ engaged ſo conſiderable a part of our lives:
‘ but learning from a variety of information,
‘ that this is deemed an officious and improper
‘ interference, and that if we are not charged
‘ with having ſiniſter deſigns, yet we are accuſed
‘ of arrogating too much, and aſſuming the
‘ guardianſhip of the liberties of our country;
‘ thus circumſtanced we could not think of op-
‘ poſing ourſelves to the concurring opinion of
‘ our fellow-citizens, however founded (14), or
‘ of

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once your mother country, will not tolerate. The Engliſh troops cannot become a *ſtanding army*, becauſe the annual conſent of the repreſentatives of the people is neceſſary to renew it, and an annual vote of their money to pay it. But your army finds means to recruit, and perpetuate itſelf independent of its pay.

(14) You *could not think* of doing what you BELIEVED YOURSELVES TO BE FOUNDED in doing! In commonwealths favour is neither ſhown nor received. Men there ſhould think, ſay, and do, whatever they are founded in ſaying, thinking, or doing. Men may there ſay that the laws are bad, but they may not obſtruct their execution. You *could not* then be *founded* in oppoſing the concurring opinions of your fellow-citizens, which are reduced into a law, though you might point out the changes which you conceived neceſſary to be made in that law. If you preſume

to

' of giving anxiety to thoſe whoſe happineſs it is
' our intereſt and duty to promote.

' We come next to ſpeak of the charitable
' part of our inſtitution, which we eſteem the
' baſis of it. By placing your fund in the
' hands of the legiſlature of your ſtate, and
' letting them ſee the application is to the beſt
' purpoſes, you will demonſtrate the integrity
' of your actions, as well as the rectitude of
' your principles (15). And having convinced
' them your intentions are only of a friendly
' and benevolent nature, we are induced to be-
' lieve they will patroniſe a deſign which they
' cannot but approve, that they will foſter the
' good diſpoſitions, and encourage the benefi-
' cent acts of thoſe who are diſpoſed to make
' uſe

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to think that you would have been *founded* in proceeding farther, you confeſs that you imagined yourſelves raiſed by the military power, with which you were inveſted, above the laws, and, conſequently, that you were become the ſovereigns of your country: but this is what you *could not mean to ſay*, becauſe you could not in your conſciences believe that you were yet *founded* in it.

(15) Money is no medium of DEMONSTRATION, though it is the means of weakening reſiſtance. God grant it may not yet be uſed as ſuch in ſo new a common-wealth!

' uſe of the moſt effectual and moſt unexcep-
' tionable mode of relieving the diſtreſſed: for
' this purpoſe it is to be hoped that charters
' may be obtained (16) in conſequence of the
' applications which are directed to be made.
' It is alſo judged moſt proper (17) that the ad-
' miſſion of members ſhould be ſubmitted to
' the regulation of ſuch charters, becauſe, by
' thus acting in conformity to the ſentiments of
' government, we not only give another in-
' ſtance of our reliance upon it (18); but of
' our

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(16) Once more, there can be but one CHARTER in a well-governed ſtate—the conſtitution. Would you have corporations? In Europe there are abundance of them; but they are erected with a view only to increaſe the revenue: with you too money is the object held out to your government.

(17) IT IS JUDGED MOST PROPER! . . . . Obedience to the law is then for the future, amongſt republicans, to be only a matter of *propriety!*

(18) What means your RELIANCE upon government? As an individual, each of you has a right to contribute by his vote to the control of that government, if it betray its truſt. As a body, you only owe it *obedience*; and in that point of view it was your duty not to have aſſociated but by its authority. But how can you refuſe to place your *reliance* on thoſe on whom your country firmly *relies?*

‘ our diſpoſition to remove every ſource of un-
‘ eaſineſs reſpecting our ſociety (19).

‘ We truſt it has not eſcaped your attention,
‘ gentlemen, that the only objects of which we
‘ are deſirous to preſerve the remembrance (20),
‘ are of ſuch a nature as cannot be diſpleaſing
‘ to our countrymen, or unprofitable to poſte-
‘ rity: we have retained accordingly thoſe de-
‘ vices which recognize the manner of return-
‘ ing to our citizenſhip; not as oſtentatious
‘ marks of diſcrimination, but as pledges of
‘ our friendſhip, and emblems whoſe appear-
‘ ance will never permit us to deviate from the
‘ paths of virtue (21): and we preſume, in this
‘ place,

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(19) YOUR DISPOSITION! . . . . You adopt, as the Maſſachuſet's committee wiſely foreſaw, the ſtyle which is in uſe between monarchs and ſovereign powers: IMPERIUM, and conſequently IMPERATOR IN IMPERIO.

(20) Thoſe *remembrances* which you juſtly cheriſh, and which nothing can obliterate, ought to be diſtinguiſhed from uſeleſs and dangerous inſtitutions, which muſt render thoſe *remembrances* leſs honourable to you.

(21) Ribbands flatter a childiſh vanity. They are tokens to call together a faction. They have oftener been the badges of conſpiracy, than the ſymbols of a virtuous aſſociation. Such futile ornaments ill ſerve to attach a man to VIRTUE or to his country.

'place, it may not be inexpedient to inform 'you, that theſe are conſidered as the moſt 'endearing tokens of friendſhip, and held in 'the higheſt eſtimation by ſuch of our allies 'as have become entitled to them, by having 'contributed their perſonal ſervices to the 'eſtabliſhment of our independence; that theſe 'gentlemen, who are among the firſt in rank 'and reputation, have been permitted by their 'ſovereign to hold this grateful memorial of 'our reciprocal affections; and that this fra-'ternal intercourſe is viewed by that illuſtrious 'monarch, and other diſtinguiſhed characters, 'as no ſmall additional cement to that har-'mony, and reciprocation of good offices, 'which ſo happily prevail between the two 'nations (22).

 'Having

(22) Republicans may bear reſpect to kings; they may be penetrated with gratitude towards them; but they ought at no time to imitate what paſſes in monarchies, or to make the opinion of a royal court the motive of their conduct. The country, from which you ſpring, loaths the bare idea of SECRET INFLUENCE. And ſhall her offspring tolerate the public invitation of a foreign influence into her *very* boſom?

'Having now relinquiſhed whatever has
'been found objectionable in our original in-
'ſtitution; having by the deference thus paid
'to the prevailing ſentiments of the commu-
'nity, neither, as we conceive, leſſened the
'dignity nor diminiſhed the conſiſtency of
'character, which it is our ambition to ſup-
'port in the eyes of the preſent, as well as of
'future generations (23); having thus removed
'every poſſible objection to our remaining
'connected as a ſociety, and cheriſhing our
'mutual friendſhips to the cloſe of life; and
'having, as we flatter ourſelves, retained in its
'utmoſt latitude, and placed upon a more
'certain and permanent foundation, that pri-
'mary article of our aſſociation which reſpects
'the unfortunate; on theſe two great ori-
'ginal pillars, FRIENDSHIP and CHARITY (24),
'we

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(23) Nothing can be better eſtabliſhed, *in the eyes of the preſent as well as of all future generations*, than the conſideration and reſpect which are due to Waſhington, and to the other American ſoldiers. Nothing can ſhake it, but the inſtitution of their military fraternity. But it is to be hoped, that the inſtitution itſelf will be abandoned.

(24) Be good CITIZENS before you be FRIENDS. Be JUST before you be CHARITABLE.

'we reſt our inſtitution; and we appeal to
'your liberality, patriotiſm and magnanimity,
'to your conduct on every other occaſion, as
'well as to the purity of your intentions on the
'preſent, for the ratification of our proceed-
'ings. At the ſame time we are happy in ex-
'preſſing a full confidence in the candour,
'juſtice and integrity of the public, that the
'inſtitution as now altered and amended will
'be perfectly ſatisfactory (25), and that acts
'of legiſlative authority will ſoon be paſſed to
'give efficacy to your benevolence (26).

'Before we conclude this addreſs, permit us
'to add, that the cultivation of that amity
'we profeſs, and the extenſion of this charity,
'we flatter ourſelves, will be objects of ſuffi-
'cient importance to prevent a relaxation in
'the proſecution of them—to diffuſe com-
'fort and ſupport to any of our unfortunate
'companions who have ſeen better days, and

 'merited

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(25) How can your inſtitution be *ſatisfactory to the public*, from which it ſeeks to diſtinguiſh you?

(26) Do you then threaten the legiſlative power to withold your *benevolence*, unleſs acts be paſſed in your favour deſtructive of the original contract of the conſtitution?

'merited a milder fate; to wipe the tear from
'the eye of the widow, who muſt have been
'conſigned, with her helpleſs infants, to indi-
'gence and wretchedneſs, but for this chari-
'table inſtitution—to ſuccour the fatherleſs—
'to reſcue the female orphan from deſtruc-
'tion (27)—to enable the ſon to emulate the
'virtues of his father, will be no unpleaſing
'taſk: it will communicate happineſs to
'others (28), while it increaſes our own;
'it will chear our ſolitary reflections, and
'ſoothe our lateſt moments.—Let us then
'pro-

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(27) Fatal diſcovery! Already then the moſt virtuous of the Americans are corrupted to ſuch a degree, that amongſt them poor orphan girls are expoſed to DESTRUCTION! And they themſelves confeſs it! Beauty and virtue are no longer, in their eyes, ſufficient endowments to entitle them to an honourable alliance! Portions are neceſſary! Ambition and avarice already govern their marriages! Honourable love begins to retire from their coaſts! . . . . The new world is no more!

(28) *Let not thy left hand*, ſays the ſcripture, *know the good which thy right hand doeth*. But the *Cincinnati*, diſplaying their blue ribband, exclaim, WE ARE THEY WHO DO GOOD TO ALL MANKIND, while the object which engroſſes the attention of the republic is the eagle, a bird never diſtinguiſhed for its beneficence.

‘ profecute with ardour what we have inſtituted
‘ in ſincerity ; let heaven and our own con-
‘ ſciences approve our conduct ; let our actions
‘ be the beſt comment on our words ; and
‘ let us leave a leſſon to poſterity, THAT THE
‘ GLORY OF SOLDIERS CANNOT BE COMPLETED,
‘ WITHOUT ACTING WELL THE PART OF CITI-
‘ ZENS (29).

‘ Signed by order,
‘ G. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT.’

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(29) *The glory of ſoldiers cannot be completed without acting well the part of citizens.* Here, at length, we recognize Waſhington, and the language, which becomes that wiſe and noble benefactor of the world. After having pleaded the cauſe of his armed fraternity, he reſumes the natural ſentiments of affection which he feels for their elders, the national fraternity.

THE GLORY OF SOLDIERS CANNOT BE COMPLETED WITHOUT ACTING WELL THE PART OF CITIZENS.

May that noble precept be tranſmitted to poſterity ! May it be the condemnation of every ſoldier who ſhall fancy himſelf at liberty to form attachments to any other ſociety than his country ! Attachments incompatible with his duties ! If ever there were a man worthy to teach the world, that the nobleſt of rewards is the eſteem of our country, deſerved and not extorted ; that the brighteſt of ornaments is virtue, which cannot be concealed ; that the moſt honourable of privileges is to be the member of a ſovereignty, which it has been our ſingular good fortune to found by our valour, and to enlighten by our reaſon, that man was WASHINGTON.

A

LETTER

FROM

MONSR TURGOT,

COMPTROLLER of the FINANCES in FRANCE,

TO

DOCTOR PRICE.

A LETTER FROM MONSIEUR TURGOT,

Comptroller of the Finances in France,

TO

DOCTOR PRICE,

Dated at Paris, 22d March 1778.

DR. Franklin has ſent me, Sir, as from you, the new edition of your *Obſervations on civil liberty, &c.* I have to thank you doubly; firſt, for the work itſelf, of which I have long known the value, and which upon its firſt publication I read with avidity, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of buſineſs, in which I was engaged; and in the next place, for your candour in ſuppreſſing the imputation of want of addreſs (1), which you had

(1) This relates to ſome details reſpecting M. Turgot's adminiſtration, which are mentioned in Dr. Price's ſecond

had inſerted, among many things much to my advantage, in your *Additional obſervations*. I might have deſerved the imputation, if you had meant no other want of addreſs than that of not

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ſecond *Treatiſe upon civil liberty, and upon the American war* (p. 150, &c.) In the firſt edition of that work, Dr. Price had included *want of addreſs* among the cauſes of M. Turgot's removal. That miniſter, in an excellent letter, informed the virtuous author what were the true cauſes of his diſmiſſion. This gave riſe to a correſpondence which was kept up till M. Turgot's death, and of which this letter forms a part.

It becomes the virtuous and the enlightened of every nation, to lament this friend of humanity, this philoſopher, who was great by his knowledge, great by his genius, and ſtill greater by his virtues; who, while favoured by kings, reſident in courts, and engaged in buſineſs, preſerved ſuch juſt principles, ſentiments, and opinions, and who was prevented from reſtoring a kingdom, the faults or wiſdom of which are attended with conſequences ſo important to the human ſpecies. Of all thoſe who have ever held the reins of government, Marcus Aurelius, perhaps, alone was worthy to have left behind him ſuch a work. Marcus Aurelius lived a public bleſſing, and as ſuch he was, and ſtill is, adored; while Turgot was not ſuffered in France to continue for two years a miniſter! And in the preſent generation, in that generation which has reaped the fruits of his labour and of his beneficence, is ſtill found a multitude of his enemies and detractors!

not being able to diſcover the ſecret ſprings of thoſe intrigues, which were practiſed againſt me by perſons much more adroit in that reſpect than I am, or than I ever ſhall, or ever deſire to be; but I underſtood you to charge me with a want of addreſs in groſsly ſhocking the general opinion of my nation; and, had that been your meaning, I believe, you would not have done juſtice either to me or to my nation, which is much more enlightened than is generally thought by yours; and which is, perhaps, more eaſily prevailed on to adopt rational ideas even than the Engliſh. I conclude this as well from having ſeen your countrymen ſo infatuated with the abſurd project of ſubduing America, that nothing could in the leaſt open their eyes till the capture of Burgoyne; as from that ſyſtem of monopoly and excluſion which is in vogue with all your political writers upon commerce, except Mr. Adam Smith and Dean Tucker, and which is the true ſource of the loſs of your colonies; and from all your controverſial writings upon the queſtions, which for theſe twenty years paſt have been diſcuſſed amongſt you, in not one of which that I remember to have read, till your obſervations were publiſhed, is the queſtion conſidered in its true point of view. I never

never could conceive how a nation, which has ſo ſucceſfully cultivated every branch of the natural ſciences, could remain ſo far inferior to itſelf in the moſt important of all ſciences, that of public happineſs; a ſcience, in which the liberty of the preſs, that exiſts no where elſe, muſt have given it ſuch vaſt advantages over every other country in Europe. Is it national pride which has prevented you from availing yourſelves of thoſe advantages? Is it, becauſe you were ſomething leſs ill off than others, that you applied all your ſpeculations to perſuade yourſelves that you need not be better? Is it the ſpirit of party, and an anxiety to ſecure popular favour, which has retarded your improvement, by diſpoſing your political writers to treat as idle metaphyſics (2) all ſpeculations, which tend to eſtabliſh fixed principles upon the rights and the true intereſts of individuals, and of nations? How happens it that you are almoſt the firſt Engliſh writer who has entertained juſt ideas of liberty, and who has demonſtrated the falſehood of that notion, which has been worn threadbare by

(2) See Mr. Burke's letter to the ſheriffs of Briſtol.

by almoſt every republican writer, that liberty conſiſts in being ſubject to nothing but the laws, as if a man oppreſſed by an unjuſt law were free; a propoſition which would not be true, even upon the ſuppoſition that all the laws were made by an actual national convention; for in fact, every individual has perſonal rights, which the nation cannot deprive him of, but by an act of violence, and by an illegal uſe of the national ſtrength. Though you have attended to this truth, and have been very explicit upon it, yet perhaps it deſerves to be even ſtill more enforced and illuſtrated, conſidering the little attention which has been paid to it by the warmeſt advocates for liberty.

It is to me equal matter of aſtoniſhment, that in England, it ſhould not be a common-place truth to ſay, that one nation never can have a right to govern another, and that ſuch a government can be founded only on violence, which is the foundation too of robbery, and of tyranny; that a tyranny exerciſed by a people, is, of all known tyrannies, the moſt cruel and inſupportable, and that which leaves the feweſt reſources to the wretches it oppreſſes; for a ſingle tyrant is under the reſtraint of ſelf-intereſt, or the

control

control of remorſe, or public opinion; but a multitude looks not to its intereſt, feels not remorſe, and decks itſelf with glory, when it moſt deſerves diſgrace.

Events have proved for the Engliſh nation a dreadful comment upon your book. They have been for ſome months paſt precipitating themſelves with a moſt accelerated rapidity. With reſpect to America the cataſtrophe is already arrived. She has thrown off her dependence, never to return to it. Will ſhe be free and happy? Will this new people, which poſſeſſes ſuch advantages for ſetting the world an example of a conſtitution, where man may enjoy all his rights, exert all his faculties, and be governed only by nature, reaſon, and juſtice, know how to form ſuch a conſtitution? Will they know how to fix it upon an everlaſting baſis, and to prevent all the cauſes of diviſion and corruption which may inſenſibly undermine and deſtroy it?

I am not ſatisfied, I confeſs, with the conſtitutions hitherto eſtabliſhed by the different ſtates of America. In that of Pennſylvania you blame, with reaſon, the religious teſt impoſed on every perſon admitted into the repreſentative body; but it is much worſe in ſome others of them.

them. One (I think it is that of the Jerſeys) requires a belief of the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt (3). In moſt of them I find an unmeaning imitation of Engliſh cuſtoms. Inſtead of making all authorities in the ſtate converge into one, that of the nation, they have eſtabliſhed diſtinct bodies; a houſe of repreſentatives, a council, and a governor; becauſe England has its houſe of commons, its houſe of lords, and its king. They endeavour to balance exactly theſe different powers; as if that equipoiſe, which may have been deemed neceſſary to prevent the enormous preponderance of royalty, could be of any uſe in republics, founded upon the equality of all the citizens; and as if every thing, which tended to eſtabliſh different bodies in the ſtate, were not a ſource of diviſions. In ſeeking to prevent chimerical, they give birth to real dangers. They would guard againſt the clergy, and therefore unite them

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(3) It is the conſtitution of Delaware that impoſes this teſt: that of the Jerſeys, with a noble liberality, orders, that there ſhall never in that province be any eſtabliſhment of any one religious ſect in preference to another; and that all proteſtants, of all perſuaſions, ſhall enjoy equal rights and privileges.

them all under the banner of one common proſcription. By making them ineligible, they form them into a body, and into a body eſtranged from the ſtate. Why is a citizen, who has the ſame intereſt as other men in the common defence of his liberty and his property, to be excluded from contributing to it by his knowledge and his virtues, only becauſe he is of a profeſſion to which knowledge and virtues are eſſentially requiſite? The clergy are never dangerous, but when they form a body in the ſtate, when they conceive themſelves to have rights and intereſts as a body, and when it has been thought proper to have a religion eſtabliſhed by law; as if men could have any right, or any intereſt, to rule the conſciences of others; as if it were in the power of an individual to ſacrifice to the advantages of civil ſociety thoſe opinions on which he ſuppoſes his eternal ſalvation to depend; as if men were to be ſaved or damned in the groſs. Where true toleration, that is to ſay, the abſolute incompetence of government over the conſciences of individuals, is eſtabliſhed, an eccleſiaſtic admitted into the national aſſembly is a citizen; when excluded from it, he becomes again an eccleſiaſtic.

I don't

I don't find that they have been careful enough to reduce, as much as poſſible, the number of objects which are to occupy the government of each ſtate; to ſeparate matters of legiſlation from thoſe of a general, and of a particular and local adminiſtration; nor to eſtabliſh local ſtanding aſſemblies, which, by diſcharging almoſt all the ſubordinate functions of government, might ſpare the general aſſembly all attention to thoſe matters, and might prevent all opportunity, and perhaps all deſire in its members, of abuſing an authority which cannot be applied to any objects but thoſe which are general, and which therefore are not expoſed to the little paſſions which actuate mankind.

I don't find that they have attended to the grand, and, indeed, the only natural diſtinction among men, that between the proprietors and the non-proprietors of land; to their different intereſts, and conſequently to their different rights with reſpect to legiſlation, to the adminiſtration of juſtice and of police, to their contribution towards the public expenditure, and to the application of the public money.

No fixed principle of taxation is eſtabliſhed; but it is preſumed, that each province may at pleaſure tax itſelf; may impoſe perſonal taxes, taxes upon conſumption or upon importation; or, in other words, may create for itſelf an intereſt, contrary to the intereſt of the other provinces.

The right of regulating its commerce is preſumed to reſide in every diſtinct ſtate. The executive power, or the governors in each, are even authoriſed to prohibit the exportation of certain commodities in certain events: ſo far are they from perceiving, that the law of a perfect liberty of commerce is a neceſſary conſequence of the right of property: ſo deeply are they ſtill involved in the miſt of European deluſions.

In the general union of the provinces, I don't find a coalition, a fuſion, of all the parts into one body, into one homogeneous whole. It is nothing but an aggregation of parts, diſtinct from one another, and which by the diverſity of their laws, manners, and opinions, by the inequality of their preſent forces, and ſtill more by the inequality of their future progreſſes, muſt

have

have a perpetual tendency to divide. It is nothing more than a copy of the republic of Holland, though Holland had not, like America, to fear the poſſible increaſe of any of its provinces. The whole edifice, as yet, reſts upon the unſolid baſis of the old and vulgar ſyſtem of politics; upon the prejudice, that nations and provinces may, as national or provincial bodies, have an intereſt different from what individuals have to be free, and to defend their property againſt robbers and conquerors; an imaginary intereſt to trade more extenſively than others, not to buy merchandize from foreigners, to compel foreigners to conſume the growth of their country, and the produce of their manufactures; an imaginary intereſt to poſſeſs a more extenſive territory, to acquire this or that iſland or village; an intereſt to ſtrike terror into other nations; an intereſt to ſurpaſs them in military glory, or in the ſciences, and the arts.

Some of theſe prejudices are fomented in Europe, becauſe there an ancient rivalry of nations, and the ambition of princes, forces all ſtates to keep themſelves in arms for ſelf-defence againſt their armed neighbours, and to conſider

military force as the primary object of government.

It is the happineſs of America, that, for a long time to come, ſhe cannot have to dread any foreign enemy, unleſs ſhe be divided within herſelf; ſo that ſhe may, and ought, to form a juſt eſtimate of theſe imaginary intereſts, theſe ſubjects of diſcord, which are alone formidable to liberty. Where the ſacred principle of conſidering freedom of commerce as a conſequence of the right of property is adopted, all imaginary intereſts of commerce vaniſh. All imaginary intereſts of poſſeſſing more or leſs territory vaniſh, where the principle is adopted that the territory belongs not to nations, but to the private owners of the land; that the queſtion whether this diſtrict, or that village, ſhould belong to this province, or to that ſtate, ought to be decided, not by the imaginary intereſt of the province, or of the ſtate, but by the real intereſt which the inhabitants of the diſtrict, or of the village, have to meet together for the regulation of their affairs in the place where they can moſt conveniently attend; that this intereſt, being to be meaſured by the greater or leſs diſtance which a man can travel from the

place

place of his abode, in order to tranſact any important buſineſs, without detriment to his ordinary concerns, becomes a natural meaſure of the extent of juriſdictions and of ſtates, and eſtabliſhes among them all an equipoiſe of extent and of force (4), which prevents all danger of inequality, and all pretenſion to ſuperiority.

The intereſt of being feared does not exiſt for thoſe who require nothing from any one, and who are in a ſituation where they cannot be attacked, even by conſiderable forces, with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Warlike renown is not equal to the happineſs of living in peace. The glory of excelling in the arts, and in the ſciences, is open to whoever aſpires to it: it is a harveſt where all may reap: the field of diſcovery is inexhauſtible; and all men profit by the diſcoveries of all.

(4) The inequality of extent and of force, which ſubſiſts between the different ſtates, appears to me to be the moſt unfavourable circumſtance in the ſituation of the Americans. *Vide infra* the notes upon Dr. Price's work.

The Americans do not yet, I believe, feel all theſe truths as they muſt feel them, to enſure the happineſs of their poſterity. I do not cenſure their leaders. It was neceſſary to provide for the exigencies of the moment by ſuch a union as could be formed againſt an imminent and formidable enemy; there was no time to think of correcting the defects of the conſtitution, and of the compoſition of the different ſtates. But they ought now to beware of perpetuating thoſe defects, and to conſider how to unite all opinions and intereſts in the different provinces, and give them a direction to ſome uniform principles.

In this reſpect they have great obſtacles to ſurmount. In Canada (5) the conſtitution of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the exiſtence of a body of nobility.

In

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(5) M. Turgot ſeems to have thought the union of Canada with the American republic inevitable. Canada, however, ſtill belongs to England, and yet the philoſopher was not miſtaken. *If it were in the nature of modern politics to do at once what will infallibly become neceſſary at laſt*, England would, to the joy of all true friends to her proſperity, give over thoſe ruinous ſpeculations upon Canada which ſhe now purſues.

In New-England the ſtill ſubſiſting ſpirit of a rigid puritaniſm, which is ſaid to be ſtill ſomewhat intolerant.

In Pennſylvania the religious prejudices of a very great number of citizens, who, by holding the profeſſion of arms to be unlawful, and conſequently refuſing to ſubmit to any regulations requiſite for eſtabliſhing the military force of the ſtate upon a union of the characters of citizen and of warrior, neceſſarily convert the profeſſion of a ſoldier into the trade of a mercenary.

In the ſouthern colonies too great an inequality of fortunes, and much more the vaſt multitude of negro ſlaves, whoſe ſervitude is incompatible with a good political conſtitution, and who, were they reſtored to freedom, would ſtill, by forming two diſtinct nations in the ſtate, involve it in much difficulty.

In all the ſtates inveterate prejudices, an attachment to eſtabliſhed forms, the habit of paying certain taxes, an apprehenſion of others to be ſubſtituted in their place, the vain opinion which ſome colonies entertain of their own ſuperior power, and a melancholy dawning of

national pride. I believe the Americans to be under a neceſſity of extending their territory, not by war, but by cultivation. Were they to leave behind them thoſe immenſe deſerts which ſtretch quite to the North Pacific Ocean, they would ſoon ſee them infeſted with a ſettlement of exiles, and of outlaws, mingled with ſavages; in ſhort, with clans of robbers, who would lay America waſte, as the barbarians of the north deſolated the Roman empire. Hence would reſult another danger, the neceſſity of being always in arms upon the frontier, and of being in a ſtate of perpetual war. The colonies bordering upon the frontier would conſequently be more warlike than the reſt, and this inequality of military force would be a terrible ſpur to ambition. The remedy for this inequality would be to keep up a ſtanding military power, towards which each province ſhould contribute in proportion to its population; and yet the Americans, who ſtill entertain all thoſe apprehenſions, which would well become the Engliſh, dread above all things a ſtanding army. In this they are wrong. Nothing is more eaſy than ſo to unite the inſtitution of a ſtanding army with a militia, as to improve the latter; and even to give additional

ſtrength

ſtrength to liberty. But it is not eaſy to quiet the fears which ſuch an inſtitution would excite.

Theſe are conſiderable difficulties ; and, perhaps, the private intereſts of powerful individuals will concur with the prejudices of the multitude, in oppoſing the exertions of true wiſdom and ſincere patriotiſm.

It is impoſſible not to offer up prayers, that this people may attain the higheſt degree of proſperity of which they are ſuſceptible. They are the hope of human nature; they may become its great example. They ought, by their conduct, to prove to the world, that mankind may be free, and at peace, and can do without every ſpecies of ſhackles which tyrants and impoſtors of every garb have ſought to impoſe upon them, under pretence of the public good. They ought to ſet the example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of liberty of commerce, and of induſtry. The aſylum which they open to the oppreſſed of all nations ought to conſole the earth. The eaſe with which men may avail themſelves of this advantage, by eſcaping from the oppreſſion of a bad government, will force governments to become juſt, and wiſe. The reſt of mankind will gradually

dually become ſenſible of the vanity of thoſe deluſions, with which politicians have ſo long lulled themſelves to reſt. But this can never happen, if America guard not againſt thoſe deluſions, or if it become, as your miniſterial writers have ſo often foretold, the counterpart of Europe, a maſs of divided powers, contending together for territory, or for the emoluments of commerce, and conſtantly cementing the ſlavery of the people with the people's blood.

The wiſe and the humane of every nation, ought, at this juncture, to unite their knowledge, and combine their reflections, with thoſe of the ſagacious Americans, to promote the grand work of their legiſlation. This, Sir, is a taſk worthy of you. I would fain that it were in my power to quicken your zeal for it. This was my only object in indulging upon this occaſion the effuſion of my ideas more freely perhaps than was proper; and I hope it will apologize for my having troubled you ſo long. I own I am anxious that the blood which already has been, and which ſtill muſt be ſpilt in this diſpute, may not have been loſt for the happineſs of mankind.

Our

Our two nations are on the point of doing each other a great deal of harm, and probably without any real benefit to either. An increaſe of debt and of places, perhaps a national bankruptcy, and the ruin of a great number of individuals, is all that it is likely to end in. Theſe are events which ſeem nearer at hand in England than in France. If inſtead of plunging into this war, you could have acquitted yourſelves with a good grace at firſt; if it had been in the nature of modern politics to have done at once what will infallibly become neceſſary at laſt; if the national opinion could have permitted your government to prevent events, ſuppoſing it to have foreſeen them; if it could have conſented at the outſet to the independence of America, without making war at all, I firmly believe you would have loſt nothing by the change. Now you muſt loſe what you have already expended, and muſt ſtill expend; you muſt for ſome time ſuffer a vaſt diminution of your commerce, great domeſtic revolutions if you be driven to bankruptcy, and, in all events, a vaſt diminution of political influence abroad. But this laſt conſequence is of very little importance to the real happineſs of a people, and I am very far from agreeing with the Abbé Raynal in your motto:

motto (6). I do not think that this will ever make you a contemptible nation, and deliver you over to ſlavery.

On the contrary, your calamities will perhaps have the effect of a neceſſary amputation: they are, perhaps, the only means of ſaving you from the canker of luxury and corruption. If amongſt your commotions you can correct your conſtitution, by making elections annual, by diſtributing the right of repreſentation in a manner more equal, and better proportioned to the intereſts of the conſtituents, you will, perhaps, gain as much as America by the revolution, for your liberty will ſtill be left you, and with liberty, and by dint of liberty, all your other loſſes will ſoon be repaired.

You may judge, Sir, by the freedom with which I unboſom myſelf to you upon theſe delicate ſubjects, of the degree of eſteem which you

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(6) "Should the morals of the Engliſh be perverted "by luxury; ſhould they loſe their colonies by reſtraining them, &c. they will be enſlaved; they will become "inſignificant and contemptible; and *Europe* will not be "able to ſhew the world one nation in which ſhe can "pride herſelf."

you have inſpired me with, and of the ſatisfaction I feel in finding that there is ſome ſimilarity in our ways of thinking.

I write this with a firm reliance on your ſecrecy. I muſt even entreat you not to anſwer me at all in detail by the poſt, for your letter would inevitably be opened in our poſt-office, and I ſhould be thought much too good a friend to liberty for a miniſter, and even for a miniſter in diſgrace.

I have the honour to be, *&c. &c.*

(Signed) TURGOT.

A SHORT

A

SHORT ABSTRACT

OF A WORK LATELY PRINTED

BY DR. PRICE,

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

AND THE MEANS OF MAKING IT

A BLESSING TO THE WORLD:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REFLECTIONS AND NOTES

UPON THAT WORK.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author not having publiſhed the work, of which the following is an abſtract, in England, the editor has abridged it by his permiſſion. Though immediately intended for America, he conceives that the advice and the principles it contains, will by no means be unintereſting to this country; at leaſt, he is convinced that they are much more neceſſary to Great Britain, in its preſent corrupt and degraded condition.

February 1ſt, 1785.

A SHORT ABSTRACT OF DOCTOR PRICE's WORK ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THIS work is entitled, *Obſervations on the importance of the American revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world. By Richard Price, D.D. L.L. D. and fellow of the royal ſociety of London, and of the academy of arts and ſciences in New-England. Printed in London in* 1784. It contains 110 pages, 8vo; and is dedicated "to the free and united ſtates of America."

The work naturally divides itſelf into two parts:

I. THE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION, AND THE MEANS

PERPETUATING THEM.

MEANS OF GIVING THEM THEIR FULL EFFECT, AND PERPETUATING THEM.

In a preliminary chapter, after congratulating the world in general, and America in particular, on the happy iſſue of the late war, the author takes a view of its beneficial conſequences to mankind, by diſſeminating juſt ſentiments of their rights, and of the nature of legitimate government; by exciting a ſpirit of reſiſtance to tyranny; by eſtabliſhing in America forms of government more equitable than any yet known; and by providing an aſylum for oppreſt men in every region of the globe. He conſiders the world as now moving on rapidly towards perfection, and inſtances the wonderful additions to the power and dignity of man, by the inventions of printing, optical glaſſes, gunpowder, *&c. &c.* "Who," ſays he, "even "at the beginning of this century, would have "thought, that in a few years they would ac- "quire the power of ſubjecting to their wills "the dreadful force of lightning, and of flying "in aëroſtatic machines(1)?"

But this revolution he conſiders as the moſt important ſtep in the courſe of human improvement,

(1) See note I.

ment, next to the introduction of Chriſtianity. He ſees the hand of providence guiding the whole, and, by the emancipation of America, preparing the way for that improved ſtate of human affairs, which, as revelation teaches, will take place before the conſummation of all things.

He then proceeds to point out thoſe objects, which merit the attention of the united ſtates.

I. THE PAYMENT OF THEIR DEBTS. On this ſubject he obſerves, that they have an infant credit to cheriſh, which being loſt, their character and honour is gone. That by diſpoſing of the unlocated lands to the army, and to emigrants, the greateſt part of their debts may be ſunk immediately. But, even without this, ſuppoſing their debt to be nine millions ſterling, at $5\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* intereſt, taxes producing one million *per annum* would pay the intereſt, and leave an annual ſurplus of half a million for a ſinking fund, which would diſcharge the principal in thirteen years. After the diſcharge of the debt, he recommends 1. Debts.

 100,000l.

100,000l. *per ann.* of the revenue to be ſtill kept up, and laid out in clearing unlocated lands, *&c.* which ſhould form a continental property, to be applied only to public purpoſes. Such a reſerve, he ſays, if improved ſo as to leave a profit of 5 *per cent.* would produce 3 millions in 19 years, 30 millions in 57 years, 100 millions in 81 years, *&c.* And, if improved ſo as to produce a profit of 10 *per cent.* it would increaſe to 5 millions in 19 years, 100 millions in 49 years (2), *&c.*

He conſiders ſinking funds, if kept ſacred and never diverted, as an omnipotent reſource to extinguiſh debts, and ſupply future emergencies: but, if left unguarded, and ſuffered to be miſapplied, as the worſt of evils, in giving miniſters the command of a revenue for the purpoſes of corruption (3).

2. THE

(2) See the Reflections, at the end of this abſtract.

(3) The latter part of this remark is certainly founded in wiſdom. But the utility either of a ſinking fund, by which we mean a fund eſtabliſhed for the liquidation of an exiſting debt, or of a national treaſure inſtituted to ſupply future emergencies, may well be queſtioned. The latter will certainly always operate either as an engine of corruption

2. THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE. Dif- 2. Peace.
putes between individuals are decided by a court of law, *i. e.* by the wiſdom and juſtice of the ſtate. The deciſion is enforced by the civil power of the ſtate. The

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ruption to the miniſter, or as a temptation to the people to enter into a (perhaps unjuſt) war. And, as it is unreaſonable that poſterity ſhould be loaded with the burthens of our wars, ſo does it ſeem unjuſt that we ſhould be compelled to contribute to the proſecution of the wars of our poſterity. In fact, there is no reaſon why every age ſhould not bear its own burthens. The expence which attends war is one of the chief inducements to peace. A national treaſure removes this inducement, by enabling a nation to make war at the expence of their anceſtors. Sinking funds, as they are managed at preſent, anſwer no purpoſe but the worſt purpoſes of a national treaſure. Indeed, melancholy experience has ſhewn, that it is impoſſible to prevent them from being miſapplied. How often have the parliament of Great Britain declared the uſes to which the ſinking fund was to be appropriated! Have they not repeatedly proteſted againſt its miſapplication and diverſion? And yet, has it not, of late years, been regularly and uniformly miſapplied and diverted? Have not near twenty-five millions been taken from the produce and ſurpluses of this fund, at different times, for the ſervice of the current year, in the courſe of the American war? It is more than probable, that, had the ſinking fund been untouched, that war would have ceaſed at leaſt two years before its actual period. For, when the people feel the burthens of

The author ſuggeſts, that, by a ſimilar method, a univerſal peace may ſome time or other be effected (4).

The articles of confederation make conſiderable advances towards preſerving a perpetual peace among the united ſtates, by referring all diſputes to the deciſion of congreſs. But he thinks this inſufficient; and

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a war, they are naturally induced to conſider, whether it be a war of neceſſity, or of miſguided ambition.

But, it may be ſaid, the miſapplication complained of ariſes from your fund's not being guarded. The anſwer is, it is impoſſible to guard it. What ſtronger guard can be conceived, than that impoſed on the national treaſure of the Athenians, inſtituted for the purpoſe of repelling invaſions, where death was the penalty of even propoſing a law to divert it? Yet Pericles got that law repealed, and another paſſed for the diſtribution of the produce among the populace of Athens, to procure them admittance to the theatre. And ſhortly afterwards, one Eubulus procured another law, enſuring its application to this diſgraceful purpoſe, by the ſame penalty which had guarded its former appropriation. Nor could all the eloquence of Demoſthenes prevail on the people to give it up to the public emergencies.

(4) The moſt celebrated plans for a general peace are thoſe of Henry IV. of France, the Abbé St. Pierre, with Rouſſeau's remarks, and Dr. Price, in his *Obſervations on civil liberty*. There is ſtill another work, very little

and that congreſs ought to have the power of collecting the force of the confederacy, to carry its deciſions into execution: this force to conſiſt, not of a ſtanding army, but of a regular, well-diſciplined militia of armed citizens.

He likewiſe adviſes the ſtates, to empower congreſs to contract debts, and provide funds to diſcharge them (5).

3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF PERFECT LIBERTY, BOTH CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS. 3. Liberty.

By *perfect liberty* is meant a freedom from all reſtraint, except ſuch as prevents one man from injuring another in his perſon, property, or good name.

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little known, which contains ſeveral uſeful hints for ſuch a project. It was printed at Paris, in 1782, at the expence of a character diſtinguiſhed for his attachment to liberty and ſcience, and is intitled, *Conciliateur de toutes les nations d'Europe, ou projet de paix perpétuelle entre tous les ſouverains de l'Europe & leurs voiſins. Par P. A. G.* Very ſmall 8vo.

(5) See the Reflections.

This

This liberty includes,

1. Liberty of conduct in all civil matters.

2. Liberty of diſcuſſing all ſpeculative matters, public meaſures, and the conduct of public men, and all ſpeculative and doctrinal points.

And on this head the author ſtrongly inſiſts, that the civil government has no right to puniſh men for oppoſing ſacred doctrines, or maintaining pernicious opinions.

3. Liberty of conſcience in matters of religion.

Here he reprobates the idea of human authority in matters of religion; and particularly urges the dangers and inconveniences of church eſtabliſhments. In this reſpect he gives all praiſe to the liberality which pervades the conſtitutions of Maſſachuſetts and North Caro-

lina,

lina, where *every denomination of chriſtians* (he wiſhes they had ſaid *all men of all religions*) are equally put under the protection of the law.

For the ſame reaſon he diſlikes the teſts impoſed on the repreſentatives of the people by the ſeveral American conſtitutions. Such teſts exclude only honeſt men. The diſhoneſt never ſcruple them.

4. EDUCATION: which is the grand means of perpetuating all theſe advantages. The education he recommends is an initiation into candor, rather than into ſyſtems of faith: whereas the preſent ordinary courſe of education conſiſts in inſtilling particular opinions, rather than in qualifying men to inveſtigate truth; and conſequently tends to contract, and not to enlarge the intellectual faculties. For which reaſon perſons ſo educated are actually in a worſe ſtate, than men who have had no education at all: and men trained up in colleges are the moſt bigoted 4. Education.

to

to their old errors, and the greateſt enemies to all new diſcoveries. For this purpoſe he recommends the ſtudy of the mathematics, as admirably adapted to give the mind a general habit of inveſtigating truth, and detecting falſehood, unleſs that ſtudy be ſo cloſely purſued, as totally to abſorb the mind in mathematical purſuits, and diſqualify it from thinking at large.

On this ſubject he notices the neceſſity of inculcating the following obſervation; that men are generally moſt tenacious when moſt in the wrong, and fancy themſelves moſt enlightened when moſt in the dark.

II. THE DANGERS TO WHICH AMERICA IS EXPOSED.

II. THE DANGERS, AS WELL CIVIL AS MORAL, TO WHICH THE AMERICAN STATES ARE EXPOSED.

And here our author ſpeaks with full confidence, that his *mean advice*, as he modeſtly terms it, will meet with all the attention it deſerves. In England, when any improvements are propoſed, or any corrections are attempted,

tempted, of abuſes ſo groſs, as to make our boaſts of liberty ridiculous (6), a clamour immediately ariſes againſt innovation, and an alarm is ſpread, leſt the attempt to repair ſhould deſtroy. In America, no ſuch prejudices can operate. There, abuſes are not ſanctified by time, and reaſon may lift up her voice with confidence and ſucceſs.

1. DEBTS. 1. Debts.

2. INTERNAL WARS. 2. Internal wars.

Both theſe ſubjects are before diſcuſſed in the firſt and ſecond diviſions of part I.

3. INEQUALITY. 3. Inequality

1. Of

(6) "The majority of the Britiſh houſe of commons is "choſen by a few thouſands of the dregs of the people, "who are conſtantly paid for their votes.—Is it not ridi- "culous to call a country ſo governed free?" See note II.

1. Of rank. And, to exclude this miſchief, the author is happy to find, that the articles of confederation have already prohibited hereditary honours, and titles of nobility; odious diſtinctions, which neceſſarily diſpoſe the poſſeſſors to be hoſtile to general liberty.

2. Of property.

The happieſt ſtate of man is that mediocrity between barbariſm and luxury, where equality of condition produces a hardy, laborious, incorrupt race of yeomanry, and is neceſſarily followed by long life, early marriages, a rapid increaſe of population, *&c. &c.* Luxury, the handmaid of wealth, is in general too ready to overturn theſe happy effects. To preſerve this equality, and its conſequences, as long as poſſible, ſome great men (Plato, Sir Thomas More, Mr. Wallace (7), *&c.*) have propoſed plans, pleaſing in theory, and perhaps not altogether impracticable.

To

(7) See note III.

To obviate this miſchievous inequality of property as much as poſſible, our author warns them againſt two of its grand cauſes.

1. The right of primogeniture: an abſurd diſtinction ariſing from a vainglorious deſire of raiſing a name by accumulating property in one branch of a family (4).

2. Foreign

(4) It is curious to obſerve the glaring injuſtice committed by the municipal laws of moſt countries in the diſtribution of the real eſtates of inteſtates. By the Jewiſh law they were divided among the ſons, the eldeſt taking a portion twice as large as each of his brethren, and the daughters were totally excluded, unleſs there were no ſons. This is at preſent, as the writer has been informed by a perſon of high character and much information, the rule of deſcent in the province of Maſſachuſetts. And ſeveral years ago, there was a long debate in the houſe of aſſembly, whether the double portion ſhould be given to the eldeſt or to the youngeſt ſon—the deciſion was in favour of the former; ſurely without much reaſon: for, if there muſt be a preference, the youngeſt is much more likely to ſtand in need of it than his eldeſt brother. By the Athenian law, the ſons took equally, to the excluſion of the daughters. This is much like the cuſtom of Gavelkind, which is the law of deſcent in Kent. But, by the law of inheritance, now generally prevalent in Europe, and far excelling all the reſt both in abſurdity and injuſtice, the younger

2. Foreign trade. And for this ſee the next diviſion.

4. Foreign trade.

4. FOREIGN TRADE. After admitting, that commerce with foreign nations has its uſe in removing local prejudices, extending benevolence, and repreſſing within due bounds that love of our country, which, if exerciſed in promoting its internal liberty and happineſs, and its independence on foreign nations, is the nobleſt of paſſions, but which, degenerating into a ſpirit of rivalſhip and a thirſt of dominion, becomes a moſt deſtructive principle: after admitting, that it enables us to draw from other countries conveniencies, we cannot find within ourſelves, he declares his opinion, that theſe uſes of foreign trade are of little importance to the large continent

younger ſons, and all the daughters, are totally excluded, in favour of the eldeſt ſon. This barbarous cuſtom is juſtified on feudal principles, when feuds no longer exiſt. It is juſtified on the principle of keeping up rich families, as if one branch were to be enriched by the impoveriſhment of twenty others. In truth and reaſon it is utterly unjuſtifiable. The only rational and equitable law of deſcent is that which is given by the Roman law, where all the ſons and daughters taken by equal ſhares.

tinent of America, which produces within itſelf not only every neceſſary but every convenience of life; which is ſo interſected with vaſt rivers and extenſive lakes, as to form an inland communication unknown in any other region. Nor need they be anxious for a great naval force. They have no powerful neighbours. The Atlantic muſt be croſſed, before they are attacked. They are all a well-trained militia; and their late ſucceſsful reſiſtance will diſcourage future invaſions.

They can draw nothing but infection from foreign connections. Let them, therefore, guard themſelves by heavy duties on importations. But particularly let them guard their MANNERS. Let them beware of a paſſion for foreign fripery. When ſuch a paſſion is awakened, farewell that ſimplicity of manners, that manlineſs of ſpirit, that diſdain of tinſel, the ſtamp of true dignity! Then will effeminacy, ſervility, and venality, break in and overwhelm liberty and virtue. Better to be plain and honeſt farmers, than opulent merchants. The pureſt manners, and the greateſt happineſs, are to be found

in

in thoſe inland parts of America, where agriculture gives health and plenty, and trade is unknown: while luxury, vice, and miſery, are reſident in great towns and ſeaports.

Foreign trade, by increaſing importation to feed luxury and prodigality, will carry out their coin, and ſubſtitute a deluſive paper currency. Paper credit is the greateſt of all conveniencies, and therefore the greateſt of all temptations. A public bank, while it can circulate its bills, facilitates commerce, and aſſiſts the exertions of a ſtate in proportion to its credit. But, when not narrowly watched, when its emiſſions exceed the coin it can command, and when, conſequently, its permanence depends on the permanence of public credulity, a bank, though it may furniſh millions in a minute, while a ballance of trade too unfavourable does not occaſion a run, muſt at length prove a dreadful national calamity.

5. Oaths.

5. OATHS. The author reprobates the uſe of the imprecatory part of oaths, and recommends a ſubſtitution of ſolemn affirmations,

mations, with ſevere penalties on detected falſehood. At all events he warns the ſtates againſt

1. A multiplicity of oaths, which renders them too familiar.

2. A ſlight manner of adminiſtering them.

6. THE SLAVE TRADE. Of this inhuman and diabolical traffic he ſtrongly urges the total abolition. 6. The ſlave trade.

He concludes by expreſſing his alarm at ſome accounts juſt arrived from America, and adds, that, ſhould the ſtates falſify the expectations conceived of them, the faireſt experiment ever tried in human affairs will miſcarry, and a revolution, which had revived the hopes of good men, will diſcourage all future attempts for liberty, and only open a new ſcene of human degeneracy and miſery.

THE END OF THE ABSTRACT.

O RE-

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

OBSERVATIONS, &c. of DR. PRICE.

WHAT terrible revolutions in the manners and constitution of the united states of America must have been in the contemplation of those, who have supposed them threatened with such contests and wars as have converted Europe into a theatre of devastation and murder! Never before had any nation such powerful motives for mutual affection. Never before did such urgent interests strengthen the bonds of fraternity among men. The citizens of each of those states never surely can forget how much they owe to the citizens of all the other states. At every step they cannot but meet some monument of the courage exerted by their friends in defence of liberty. The happiness which they will enjoy must be an eternal pledge of mutual gratitude; and at the distance of a thousand miles from home they must still feel that they are in the bosom of their country. PEACE.

Whence can the seeds of discord ever be scattered among these nations of brethren? What have they not to conquer from nature, before they can entertain

the abſurd deſire of gaining new poſſeſſions? From the ſea, quite beyond the mountains, ſtretches out an immenſe territory, which muſt be covered with cottages, with peaſants, and with implements of huſbandry; and which compels the Americans to direct the activity of their infant population towards a laudable induſtry. They have a whole world to people before they can find themſelves ſtraitened for room. Such is the preſervative which they have received from heaven, and which no people ever poſſeſſed before; ſuch, independent of their moderation and virtue, is the ſecurity of peace to theſe happy nations.

CONGRESS. The precautions, however, which the reſpectable writer of the preceding work points out, are dictated by wiſdom. From the auguſt aſſembly of the continental congreſs nothing ever can be feared. Its members will always be wiſely elected; for a free people never err in the choice of their repreſentatives. The ſhort, the perhaps too ſhort, period of its adminiſtration leaves no room for jealouſy. The nature of their functions, which are foreign from the internal government of each particular ſtate, forms a ſufficient barrier to ambition. They never can conceive the deſign of uſurping the ſovereignty, or employing the forces of the confederation againſt the liberty of any ſingle ſtate.

ITS POWERS TO BE ENLARGED. Repoſe confidence, therefore, in the congreſs, and enlarge its powers. Be judged by the delegates of all your provinces; or in other words, be your own judges.

judges. Nothing will reſiſt the deciſions of an impartial juſtice. Arm, however, your judges with ſuch a power as cannot be dangerous; arm them with your whole ſtrength to enforce their ſentences. Thus will your decrees, pronounced by the lips of your judges, be executed by yourſelves.

No free man, undoubtedly, will ever think of entruſting mercenaries with the defence of that country, which has been dyed with your blood. The time, thank heaven! is now arrived, when patriotiſm will ceaſe to be a hatred of human kind; when the proſperity of a free ſtate will ceaſe to be founded on the luſt of empire, as it was at Rome, or on the love of war, as was the caſe at Sparta. But human nature is ſtill the ſame. Nothing great ever was, or ever will be, atchieved without urgent motives, and ſome degree of enthuſiaſm. Reaſon alone, and ideas of order and juſtice, without the art to convert them into paſſions, will never keep alive that activity which is eſſential to liberty. Liberty cannot long ſurvive the moment when it ceaſes to be the higheſt and moſt ſenſible of enjoyments. In order that it may be preſerved, your paſſion for it muſt never abate. Enjoyment muſt never weaken its charms; but every day muſt revive in your ſouls that ſentiment of intoxication, which you felt at the firſt ſhout of victory.

Would you obtain this great effect, addreſs your- EDUCA-
ſelves to the ſenſes: addreſs them perpetually: place TION.

conſtantly before the ſight, the deplorable ſcenes of your ſervitude, and the enchanting picture of your deliverance. Begin with the infant in his cradle: let the firſt word he liſps be the name of WASHINGTON. Let his firſt leſſons of hiſtory be the wrongs which you ſuffered, and the courage which ſet you free. Let his daily prayers be expreſſions of gratitude to God, for raiſing you up accompliſhed chiefs; for leading on your armies; and for ſtrengthening the arms of your peaſants, againſt the diſcipline and the tyranny of Europe. Let the youth, the hope of his country, grow up amidſt annual feſtivals, commemorative of the events of the war, and ſacred to the memory of your heroes. Let him learn from his father to weep over the tombs of thoſe heroes, and to bleſs their virtues. Let his firſt ſtudy be your declaration of independence, and the code of your conſtitutions, which were ſketched out amidſt the claſhing of arms. Let him ſtop at the end of the field which he ploughs, and, while the tears ſtart into his eyes, let him read, engraved upon the rude ſtones; HERE SAVAGES, IN THE PAY OF DESPOTISM, CAST AN INFIRM OLD MAN INTO THE FLAMES; HERE THEY DASHED AGAINST THE TREES, CHILDREN, SNATCHED FROM THE BREASTS OF THEIR DYING MOTHERS; THERE THE SATELLITES OF OPPRESSION BENT THE KNEE, DEMANDED THEIR LIVES, AND BECAME CAPTIVES. Let the calendar record, throughout the year, thoſe immortal acts, to which you owe your freedom. Let the ſword, which his father once uſed in the defence of his

family,

family, the ſword with which he will himſelf be girt, when he ſhall attain the age of reaſon and of ſtrength, be bound to his plough. Let the inſtrument of war, thus united to the implement of peace, renew that language of ſigns, which in antient times was employed with ſuch effect for leſs ſacred purpoſes. Let it tell him, what, having thus learned, he never can forget, that the pride of a free man braves all dangers, but never diſturbs the public order: that human blood ought to be laviſhed for liberty, but ought to flow for no other cauſe: that war is horrible, if it be unneceſſary: that it is the reproach of the mercenary who ſells his life for gold, or for the deteſtable honour of cool barbarity, but that it conſigns to immortality the patriot hero, who devotes his life for his brethren.

Intoxicated with the love of liberty, like thoſe ancient Germans, who, in the language of Tacitus, LIBERTATEM DEPERIBANT, UTPOTE SANGUINE PARTAM, let this young hero, at frequent intervals, quit the toils of huſbandry, to kindle his public ſpirit amidſt warlike exerciſes; let him learn the uſe of arms, and accuſtom himſelf to diſcipline in the ſight of the moſt reſpectable citizens. Let him, in their preſence, pledge himſelf to defend his country and its laws.

Of ſuch men be your troops compoſed. Leave it to the monarchs of Europe to diſtribute and to claſs different ranks, and to pay them with riches and

with

with conventional honours . . but with you be every important function united. Let the husbandman be the soldier and the representative of the state; let him contribute his labours, his courage, and his knowledge to the public prosperity; and let him not think that his debt to his country can be discharged by a less tribute than that of his whole existence.

Fear nothing from a militia thus constituted. Be this the strength with which you arm the congress for the execution of its judgments. Be this the barrier which you oppose to the inroads of the barbarians, if your humanity and beneficence cannot gain you their friendship. Be this your safeguard against the attacks of European nations, who then will never venture to interrupt your domestic peace.

But great indeed is the task which remains to be performed . . . . After having set the noble example of a philosophical legislation, arising from the midst of carnage, set the still more admirable example of a wise and noble modesty. Revise your laws. Attend to public virtues. Imagine institutions which may perpetuate them. Complete what you have so well begun. Take no rest till you have attained the highest perfection of which human nature is susceptible; nor suffer by your neglect the most auspicious moment for the happiness of the human species to pass unimproved.

THESE ideas I need not obſerve belong to the venerable author of the preceding work; I will venture, however, to reject his opinion upon the nature of the various powers with which he thinks the continental congreſs ought to be inveſted. It "muſt "be truſted," ſays he, "with a power of procuring "ſupplies for defraying the expences of the confedera-"tion; of contracting debts, and providing funds "for diſcharging them (1)." I am far from concurring in this opinion, and I offer my objections to Dr. Price himſelf, as a tribute due to his love of truth and of mankind.

LOANS TO BE AVOIDED.

THE moſt fatal deception of what in Europe is called POLITICS, has been to ſuppoſe CREDIT uſeful, and to throw a part of the duties of the preſent upon future generations. This horrible ſyſtem originates in a want of patriotiſm; and paves the way for a revolution, which, whether diſtant or near at hand, is certainly inevitable, and will ſtrike the world with terror. The burthen is continually increaſing; the exigencies of every year are aggravated with the weight of all which have gone before. Every loan creates a neceſſity of future loans; ſo that the only end of this boaſted policy, is to render the public ſervice impoſſible, or in other words, to diſſolve the

(1) See p. 183 ante.

ſociety;

ſociety; an evil which can be no otherwiſe avoided, than by a violation of faith, and the general deſtruction of property . . . Free republicans, guard againſt the contagion of ſlavery. Remember, that to become what you ought to be, you muſt entirely forget what you were.

A true patriot wholly devotes himſelf to his country. He pays his debt to it every year with joy, ſuffers no arrears of it to accrue, and never poſtpones till to-morrow, the duty of to-day. In his own perſon he performs every ſervice of the ſtate; whether by ſeizing, and delivering over to the law, the enemies and diſturbers of ſociety; or by opening and maintaining the communications which are neceſſary to internal commerce and the public welfare; or by hearing and deciding all diſputes amongſt his brethren; or by reſiſting the inroads of all hoſtile invaders, with the ſame hand with which he directs his plough acroſs the field, his little and his only patrimony. The performance of ſuch ſervices as theſe depends not on loans, and ſcarcely even on money, but on perſonal exertions: and in ſuch ſervices is the generous ſentiment of patriotiſm manifeſted, nouriſhed, and tranſmitted to poſterity.

Diſcharge then the debts which you contracted for the nobleſt of cauſes, at a criſis which admitted neither of deliberation or delay, but CONTRACT NO NEW ONES. Let all that you owe to your country be diſcharged at the cloſe of every year; and begin the new

new year by reſuming the ſame labours, which will again be rewarded with the ſame enjoyments. Behold with terror yon city, the capital of your ancient empire, loaded with the burden of her paper circulation, her credit, and her bank; yet intoxicated with the ſplendid phantom of her opulence; and haſtening, by her greedy credulity, or by her preſumptuous confidence, the arrival of that dreadful moment, when ſhe muſt ſtart from her long dream... And do you, peaceful, happy, and modeſtly proud of having vindicated the rights of human nature, ſhun ſo ſad an example, and demonſtrate to the world, how true happineſs may be promoted under the auſpices of liberty, by moderation, order, and œconomy.

CONTRACT NO DEBTS. The firſt loan made amongſt you, will atteſt with certainty, the decline of that ſpirit which ought to animate you. It will be to ſhift upon others, the taſk impoſed by nature and by your oaths upon yourſelves, and to diſcharge only the twentieth part of your duties. It will be a groſs injuſtice, which will load your poſterity with the burden of your ſervices and of their own(2). It

(2) This is what no perſon has ventured to ſay hitherto, except one Engliſh writer, who, in a very recent work, of which but few copies have been printed, and which has been given to none but his friends, has pointed out the injuſtice and illegality of loans. The paſſage appears to me to be ſo well written, and ſo unanſwerable, that I could not reſiſt the pleaſure of inſerting it here.

"It

It will be a fatal contagion, which ſpeedily deſtroying your virtues, will awaken avarice, multiply intrigues,

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" It is the birthright of an Engliſhman not to be " taxed, but by repreſentatives of his own immediate " choice*. If this right had been attended to, all ſupplies " demanded by government would have been raiſed within " the year: for the conſtitutional method of voting ſupplies " was this—The ſervice being announced from the throne, " the houſe of commons decided, whether it was more " prudent, and more for the intereſt of the public and their " conſtituents, to ſuſtain the expence, or to ſtop the ſer- " vice. But this principle was violated, when the ſupplies " ceaſed to be raiſed within the year, and to be thrown " upon poſterity. For, when five millions were the ſum " to be raiſed, and raiſed within the year, they who im- " poſed, ſuſtained the burden. The evil might be ſufficient " for the day, but it expired with it; whereas, if five mil- " lions are raiſed by mortgage, they who grant it, charge " themſelves with no more than the ſimple intereſt, which " is but £.250,000, whilſt they charge both principal and " intereſt of five millions upon their children and their " children's children."

" *We*

" * The ſecurity that an Engliſhman formerly had againſt an abuſe " of the power of taxation was this,—that the member of parliament " himſelf, paid his proportionate ſhare of every tax that he conſented to " impoſe; ſo that he could not injure the property of his electors " without impairing his own. But this ſecurity has long been done " away by the effects of influence; and ſince parliament became ſo " great a part of the trade of Exchange-alley, we ſee how the fortunes " of ſubſcribers to public loans are aggrandized, by the very act of impoveriſhing their conſtituents."

intrigues, and bend the loftineſs of your ſouls to the meanneſs of ſtock-jobbing. Your country will ſoon be

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" *We give and grant* is the language of money bills; " but it was meant to expreſs the *gift and grant* of *their* " *own* property who made the offer, but not the property " of poſterity.

" This violation of the principles of the conſtitution will " appear in yet ſtronger colours when you conſider, that " the accumulation of the national debt has now brought " the intereſt alone to ten millions, to be levied *every year* " *within the year* on the inhabitants of Great Britain. But " what had we to do in chooſing thoſe men who impoſed " this exorbitant rent-charge upon us? They were the " repreſentatives, ſome of the laſt, ſome of the preſent " century, but not one of them elected by thoſe on whom " the payment of theſe taxes falls.

" It is an unpleaſant theme to dwell upon.—But the " deviation from the principles of the conſtitution, in levy- " ing taxes on poſterity, appears to me as a breach of the " duty of a private man, of the citizen, and of the ſtates- " man. For the duty of a private-man (the *pater-familias*) " is to protect, not injure, the inheritance of his children; " the duty of the citizen is to ſacrifice his perſonal and " temporary intereſt, to the permanent advantage and fu- " ture welfare of his country. The difference betwixt a " good and a bad ſtateſman conſiſts in this, that the one " provides for the exigencies of the day, the other guards " againſt events that may endanger public ſafety in times

to

forgotten; and the field of honour, the aſylum of liberty, will be converted into an exchange of traders.

But ſhould the Americans make no loans in future, for how many ages will they not be incumbered with the burden of their preſent debt, which muſt be paid at laſt; and what credit can they enjoy till this debt ſhall be diſcharged?

The

" to come. It is moreover a duty we owe our ſovereign, " not to obſtruct his deſigns for the public good; and, leaſt " of all, to embarraſs him in the execution of his firſt and " greateſt charge, that of defending and protecting his " people. But this wretched ſyſtem of foreſtalling the " national reſources, is if poſſible more injurious to the " ſtate of the king, than of the ſubject; for, having the " greateſt intereſt in the preſervation of the ſtate, he is moſt " injured in having the means of defence taken out of his " hands; and under the weight of our preſent debt, how is " the crown to undertake any meaſures, even of national " defence, without heaping oppreſſions on the oppreſſed, " and without ſtriking deeper at public credit, already " wounded, perhaps beyond cure?

The evil appears to this writer to be ſo great, that he does not heſitate to ſay, that " if the debt be ſwelled beyond " its preſent magnitude, he muſt reſort to antiquity for an " expreſſion to deſcribe the ſituation of Great Britain: " DEUS, ETIAM SI DEUS VOLUIT, SERVARE REM- " PUBLICAM NON POTEST." *Political letters, written in March and April,* 1784. *London: printed by William Richardſon in the Strand.* Letter X. p. 54 and 55.

THE actual debt of the united ſtates is computed to amount to nine millions ſterling. This they undoubtedly muſt pay; not in order to gain credit hereafter, which, even were the reſolution of never making loans not enrolled amongſt their fundamental laws, would be to them a moſt fatal advantage, but becauſe juſtice requires it; and juſtice is the firſt of virtues; and the new republic is loſt, if ſhe ceaſe to adore virtue. CREDIT UNNECESSARY.

To ſpeak without reſerve. I cannot approve the arithmetical ſpirit which reigns throughout the chapter upon public debts. One reads of nothing but of millions, and of the means of increaſing them; of growing intereſt; of a produce, which in a few years doubles its capital, triples it, multiplies it to a degree which I had rather admit without inveſtigation, than pore over the diſguſting calculation ..... Why this dazling diſplay of gold before the eyes of the ſons of freedom, and the cultivators of a land favoured by heaven? What avail the means, whether real or imaginary, of becoming rich and corrupted, where the only object to be purſued, is to eſtabliſh the reign of virtue and happineſs? ..... Your debt, my friends, amounts to nine millions. Pay it quietly, gradually, without any extraordinary effort, by judicious contributions levied upon the land-owners; deny yourſelves, for a time, ſome of the comforts of life. That ſacrifice will be the price of your liberty: can it then be burthenſome to your brave and generous minds? Let every public ſervice be diſcharged by your-

yourſelves; let the contribution diminiſh in proportion as the debt is diſcharged; and let the funds which the confederation will no longer ſtand in need of, be applied in the cultivation of your fruitful ſoil, which will pour into your hands thoſe pure treaſures, for which you will have only providence to thank.

It is, alas, next to impoſſible, for the moſt juſt and enlightened underſtandings, to keep entirely clear of the prejudices which ſurround them. It is from England that you are addreſſed; it is from England that you are adviſed to eſtabliſh a permanent credit, and to form a continental patrimony for the united ſtates.

CREDIT! . . . It is a worm which gnaws the vitals of the ſtate. The wiſdom of man, be aſſured, is to diſtruſt himſelf. Were the time ever to arrive when your zeal ſhould abate; when private intereſt ſhould weigh down the public weal; when every man ſhould prize his own fortune above the ſtate; the habit of making loans would then be confirmed; you would borrow inſtead of acting; you would convert the ſervices of free citizens into the ſervices of mercenaries; and that extremity of the world, on which the hopes of all the reſt of mankind repoſe, would become a diſhonoured country; whoſe example would furniſh tyrants with one principle more, on which to juſtify their oppreſſion of the human ſpecies.

You

You have to begin every thing anew. Adopt nothing from declining ſtates, which, by prejudices, revolutions, and habits, are diſeaſed beyond all cure. Their moſt deplorable ignorance is that of the evils which beſet them. Their moſt mortal diſeaſe is the blindneſs of their inveterate paſſions, which loſe the very deſire of being cured. The principle of thoſe evils which threaten the child at the moment of its birth, eſcapes the keeneſt eye, but it carries in it contagion and death. It is the ſame with ſtates. In the firſt falſe idea, in the firſt unjuſt principle which is blended in their infant conſtitution, exiſts the ſource of their misfortunes and their ruin: and this evil is the more dangerous, becauſe the fermentation of it will be ſlow, and difficult to foreſee. The ſmalleſt leaven of vice or error is ſufficient to ſet, unperceived, the manners and laws at variance, and to effect the diſſolution of republics, in appearance the beſt conſtituted.

All ſtates at preſent confound money and riches, riches and happineſs, ſplendor and power, fame and true glory. Shun theſe errors, and ſow not the ſeeds of them in your republics. Know, and be it ever remembered amongſt you, that moderation alone can render you happy, numbers and courage powerful, and virtue truly glorious. Be this then your conſtant rule of conduct. Every thing which may corrupt your manners, damp your zeal, and divert you from your duties as men, and as citizens, is a mighty evil, which, dangerous already, will become, in proceſs of time, an infallible ſource of deſtruction to your nation.

Loans are a complication of all theſe diſorders. Be it then an invariable law with you, never to borrow.

NO CONTINENTAL DOMAINS IN THE HANDS OF CONGRESS

Our author has another idea, which could take birth no where but in the midſt of thoſe prejudices which infeſt the old-age of empires. He adviſes you to form a continental domain in the hands of the congreſs; and by this precaution, to prepare the way for the time when you will no longer have to render any ſervices to your country; even were the calculations of this political arithmetic juſt, that would alone be a reaſon to reject the reſult of them. Frame your conſtitutions rather in ſuch a manner that your country may always need the aſſiſtance of its ſons, and your citizens the protection of their common parent. To the ſentiment of this reciprocal dependence, providence has united the fineſt emotions in nature, and man cannot but err unleſs he imitate this noble order. Can you be ignorant that the purſuit of means to ſupport the public weal, independent of public patriotiſm, takes its riſe from a vague ſentiment which ſuppoſes that happineſs can be found in idleneſs, ſloth, and perſonal intereſt? Will not ſuch an inſtitution neceſſarily encourage and promote thoſe diſpoſitions of mind which firſt ſuggeſted it? and if thoſe diſpoſitions be the moſt fatal poiſon of a free ſtate, what are we to think of the eſtabliſhments which have ſuch a tendency?

Public domains have ever been the engines by which the diſtant ſervitude of nations has been prepared by their

their chiefs. And ſhall they be the firſt inſtitution of a free people? Public domains entruſted perpetually to the adminiſtration of the repreſentatives of your ſtates! What are they but a power, independent of your will, committed to thoſe, whoſe ſole function is to expreſs your will by public ſtatutes? and to what purpoſe? In order to releaſe you from your duties!.... With one blow you would ſtrike at public virtue and at liberty. The ſame inſtitution would render you corrupt and indifferent about the public, and deliver up your poſterity to ſervitude. This ſingle law would deſtroy all which it is incumbent on you to defend. The leaſt misfortune which could then befall you, would be for the deputies of your provinces to become more indifferent about the public good, than ambitious. If, conſidering the poſſeſſions entruſted to them as public property, they neglect the cultivation of them, you abandon to ſterility the lands which providence has enjoined you to improve: or, if treating this property as their own, they render it fertile, you condemn your children to be ſlaves; in all events you ſtifle patriotiſm and liberty in their very birth.

Never enrich the men whom you would preſerve incorrupt. The contagion of gold is dangerous to the pureſt minds; and the boaſted grandeur of modern nations is nothing but the power of bribery over baſeneſs.....Free republicans! if you cheriſh in your hearts any other deſires than thoſe of an extenſive cultivation, of wide population, and of that happineſs, which fathers, mothers, children, brethren, and citi-

zens enjoy in the innocence of nature, in the warmth of affection, and in the bosom of their country, you have not deserved the love and admiration which you have inspired, you will deceive the hopes of mankind: you will become what we are—nothing, nay, worse than nothing; for it were better not to exist, than to be vicious and miserable.

COMMERCE But what ray of celestial light has pierced through the darkness which surrounds us, and inspired the virtuous writer with the wise sentiments which he entertains upon commerce! What praise does he not deserve for having seen and felt, amid the delusions of wealth, and the calculations of avarice, that external commerce must ruin your states! How warm must have been his love of liberty and of virtue, to overcome those prejudices, which, in his country, attach an idea of grandeur and of force to mercantile speculation! Read this chapter again and again. Engrave it in your public halls, on tables of marble, and of brass. Or rather engrave it on tables of gold. It may make a more lively impression on your minds, when you see that corrupting metal, which has undone mankind, serving for once the cause of wisdom and truth, and recording the condemnation of that avarice which itself enflames.

Commerce, considered as the means of uniting men, and connecting them together, is ordained by nature. It increases that fraternal affection for one's fellow creatures, which every ingenuous mind feels to be

be irreſiſtible. That men, connected together by obeying the ſame laws, ſharing the ſame government, and inhabiting the ſame country, ſhould make mutual exchanges of ſervices, and of induſtry; that, in a more extenſive confederation, they ſhould eſtabliſh ſome repreſentative ſign of theſe mutual exchanges, is perfectly natural and beneficial to mankind; but when once commerce exceeds thoſe limits, it becomes dangerous and pernicious to every nation to which it is not neceſſary.

Commerce, conſidered as a means of living at the coſt of foreign nations, is neceſſary to the people who inhabit countries which do not afford them a ſubſiſtence. The miracles of induſtry which ſuch a ſituation has produced, are ſo bewitching, that they have deceived all Europe; and deceived it to ſuch a degree, as to make this ſpeculating activity be miſtaken for the true ſource of proſperity to every nation. A capital and a fatal error, which has confounded what is only aſtoniſhing with what is uſeful! and has obſcured this important truth, that the very ſame reſources which are neceſſary to nations labouring under natural diſadvantages, are the ſcourges of thoſe ſocieties, which are favoured by nature!

Would you eſtimate foreign commerce truly? Conſider firſt what is of eſſential benefit to human ſocieties.

Liberty, perſonal ſafety, population, virtue, and courage, are of eſſential benefit to them. Every

thing beyond theſe is indifferent; every thing deſtructive of theſe is prejudicial.

The principle of an active foreign commerce is the love of riches. Such a commerce is, therefore, injurious to morality. The love of riches never dwelt long in the ſame breaſt with enthuſiaſm; conſequently it muſt weaken, and ſoon extinguiſh all ſentiments of liberty and of courage. The merchant, whoſe ſoul is contracted by calculations, and whoſe heart is conſumed with deſires, conſiders honeſty as a neceſſary, rather than as an amiable quality. Virtue, like every thing elſe, becomes the ſubject of ſpeculation. From that moment, adieu to morality, adieu to patriotiſm, adieu to public ſpirit. What attachment can ever bind inſeparably to his country the man, who can tranſport, in his manual art, or in bills of exchange, his whole property to ſome other country, and enjoy it there in peace? What is the ſtate to him any further, than as it protects him in the acquiſition of his fortune? His deſires, far from uniting him with the public, ſeparate him from it, and render him a ſolitary being, intent upon nothing but his own private good.

Such are the moral conſequences of a thirſt after commerce. Let us now ſee what is its phyſical influence.

If you pay the foreign trader as much as you ſell him in induſtry, to what purpoſe thoſe exertions, which only multiply unprofitable enjoyment, and without

without adding any thing to your happineſs, accelerate your corruption? If your exports be greater than your imports, then you will doubtleſs be convinced that you are in the road to proſperity; and then you will in fact be haſtening to your deſtruction. Streams of gold will pour in upon you from every quarter. The moſt crafty, and ſtill more the moſt rapacious, will ſeize upon this wealth. Poverty will become the portion of the virtuous and modeſt, whoſe fortunes, unaugmented in this proſperity, will bear no proportion to the increaſed prices of proviſions. Inequality of fortune, the fatal ſource of all miſery and of all guilt, the poiſon of all liberty and of all virtue, will deſolate your ſtates. Opulence will be power. Poverty will be abandoned to ſcorn and oppreſſion. All ſervices will become mercenary. Avarice will ſpread its infection through every part of the ſtate. Every magiſtrate will become venal; every law will have its price; every honour will be put up to ſale; and, as a juſt puniſhment for theſe falſe ſpeculations of the baſeſt paſſions, even commerce will at laſt prey upon and deſtroy itſelf. The treaſures which it will have produced, will have raiſed the price of induſtry ſo high, that all competition with other nations will be impoſſible. Your markets will be forſaken, your ports abandoned, and, ignorant alike how to employ your gold, and how to get rid of it, your nations, ruined by the very exceſs of their imaginary riches, will loſe their commerce without recovering that innocence and happineſs which they will have ſacrificed to their idol. Your hands will then be

ſtretched

ſtretched out to receive the chains of the firſt ambitious uſurper who thinks fit to enſlave you, and your treaſures will become the prize of the firſt robber who pleaſes to make them his own.

Such has ever been the fortune of commercial nations.

Judge now of modern politics. Judge of the ſenſeleſs pride of our calculating philoſophers, who dare to deſpiſe ancient legiſlations, and who prefer their own barren arithmetic to the language of the moſt affecting wiſdom. See to what they lead us. See what has been the fate of thoſe nations who have followed theſe deceitful guides. But for her admirable conſtitution, your antient parent country would not at this moment exiſt. That conſtitution fights the battles of England better than her armies: but yet, did not the ſea guard her iſland; could civil liberty be once violated amongſt her ſons with impunity: were not morality and domeſtic order amongſt them ſtill preſerved untainted by their ſeparation from the continent; had you not rendered them the ſervice of checking their pride, think what would have become of the remains of their liberty, and their power, in the midſt of a tumult of factions, an exceſſive inequality of fortune, a venality of parties, the diſorders of bankruptcies, the fluctuations of credit, the terrors of avarice, an exceſſive load of taxes of every denomination and of every kind, their enormous national debts, and the oppreſſion, which even induſty

ſuffers,

ſuffers, by being cruſhed under a load of riches amaſſed during ſo many years! . . . . . You will owe every thing that you have valuable to England. Her injuſtice has given you liberty; let her errors teach you leſſons of wiſdom.

Do I then adviſe you to paſs laws againſt commerce? to eſtabliſh prohibitions, and to preſcribe any deſcription of occupations or of labour? . . . God forbid! Liberty and property, thoſe ſacred and inalienable rights, are the baſis of your conſtitution. Be careful never to ſhake them. Forbid nothing but what is criminal, but encourage nothing but what is good. This is the ſum of all my admonitions. Let all your laws tend to an equality of fortune. Let the father's eſtate, diſtributed amongſt all his children, multiply citizens, and bring all families to one level. Let the immenſe territory which is at your diſpoſal be portioned out to whoever has the means of cultivating it. Give it gratuitouſly. Never ſell it. Never perſuade yourſelves that you have a right to ſell thoſe countries covered with primitive foreſts, which belong only to nature, and over which labour alone can confer a title. Encourage, comfort, aid, and protect, with all the power of government, the planters, who purchaſe the happineſs of living amongſt you with the fertilizing ſweat of their brows. The commerce which is truly profitable, is the importation of the poor and the induſtrious, from every quarter of the globe. Grant the right of being repreſented in the national aſſemblies, to every proprietor of a certain

NO PROHIBITIONS.

extent

extent of land, aſcertained by law. Remember that no man is more than a ſingle individual; that he has but one ſoul, and can profit the ſtate only by his ſingle faculties. Never, therefore, conſider the rich more than the poor. If a hundred acres give a right of ſuffrage, let a hundred thouſand give no more. By this apparent inequality, which is in fact only a more ſtrict and conſiderate juſtice, you will impreſs upon the infancy of your ſocieties, the viſible token of that ſame ſpirit which preſided over their birth. You will take from avarice its ſtrongeſt incentives, ambition and power. You will tranſmit to ſucceeding generations your own diſregard of riches. . . . . Thus are the virtues of nations formed, by directing their ideas in a certain channel, from which they cannot afterwards deviate.

Leave the merchant, who erects warehouſes, builds veſſels, and purſues his ſpeculations, to prefer, if he will, the dull arithmetic of his counting-houſe, to the enchanting proſpect of nature—to the affecting luxuriance of the country. . . . Let his property be as ſacred as that of any other man: let his liberty be inviolable under the empire of law. But he is only an inhabitant, and not a citizen of your nation. He has choſen to belong to no country, but the world at large. He may, when he pleaſes, have a country. He may convert his perſonal property into land; and this change, the moſt favourable to the ſpirit of your government, and to the manners of your people, will be the higheſt ambition of all your inhabitants. Thus, without force, without reſtraint, without laws, without prohibitions,

and

and without injuſtice, you will enſure pre-eminence to the innocent, and fraternal art of agriculture, to that art which doubles population, encourages virtue, nouriſhes the lofty ſpirit of free minds, ſupplies the ſtate with defenders, counſellors, and domeſtic arbitrators, and (ſince riches muſt be ever in view,) produces that ſubſtantial wealth, which may multiply without engendering luxury and corruption.

Scorn the pitiful and iniquitous ſhifts which commercial ſtates have practiſed to prevent the importation of foreign commodities. Here again I venture to combat the opinion of your venerable friend. Concern yourſelf neither about the protection, nor about the prevention, or the regulation of commerce. Take no thought about trade, but entirely overlook it. If it be advantageous, it ſhould be left free, becauſe liberty alone can make it thrive. If on the other hand it be pernicious, let it ſtill be free, becauſe the infringement of liberty is a greater evil than the exiſtence of abuſes. Becauſe it is abſurd to think of carrying on commerce with foreign nations, by permitting them to buy your commodities, and at the ſame time refuſing to take theirs in exchange; for in that caſe they will certainly never deal with you. Becauſe, in ſhort, amidſt all the everlaſting conteſts of ſelf-intereſt, which finds itſelf embarraſſed with is own rules, there is only one fixed principle, that of morality: and morality requires that every man's property ſhould be at his own free diſpoſal. The only juſt and reaſonable maxim to be adopted, therefore, is, to

derive

derive every poſſible advantage from your own country, to limit the wants of nature by plenty, and thoſe of luxury by moderation.

THE CONSTITUTIONS

The excellent writer, whoſe work has given riſe to theſe reflections, has ſaid little about your conſtitutions; but he has communicated to you the ſhort, but invaluable obſervations of a true philoſopher. All that was neceſſary to be ſaid about them is contained in the letter of the immortal Turgot. In framing your conſtitutions, the form of the Engliſh government has too frequently occurred to your remembrance. What is well adapted to England, is ill calculated for America. Let there be no balance of powers—no complicated conſtitutions. Are your removeable governors kings? Are your executive councils peers? Have you, or can you have any other repreſentatives than aſſemblies of citizens, equal by nature and by law? Aſſemblies which are not *the commons* (as patrician inſolence has ſtyled them) but THE NATION. Ill betide thoſe corrupted nations, among whom the maſter-piece of the human intellect has been to create a phantom of peace by means of diſcord, and to excite a conteſt of the paſſions in order to obtain their equilibrium! Deem more nobly of yourſelves. Purſue the direct path to wiſdom. Let public virtue be your object, and think not of counteracting the intereſts of one body of men by thoſe of another. Begin not as others have ended; and poiſon not the innocent ſimplicity of your infancy by the ſubtleties of depraved manhood.

Nor

Nor let me be told that you ſpring from ancient nations, and are not in that ſtate of infancy which I imagine.

Individuals amongſt you may be old, but your nation is ſtill young. You have experienced revolutions, which ought to have given new birth to every man amongſt you. Are you not in another climate beyond the limits of the ocean? Are not your cuſtoms different from thoſe of your former country? Have you not been engaged in war, and little leſs than civil war? Which of you has not paſſed the ordeal trial of miſery and danger? Which of you has not ſhed his blood in the noble cauſe of freedom? Which of you has not to bewail the death of a father, a wife, a child, or a friend, ſacrificed in the arduous conteſt? Be aſſured that you are beings of no antiquated or vulgar race. You retain of the old world nothing but its knowledge, and the virtues of the new world are all your own.

No reformation, I venture to perſuade myſelf, is neceſſary in your manners; but nothing ſhould be neglected to preſerve their purity. Forget not the force of education. Your excellent friend knew its influence, and treats of it at length: but though every thing he has ſaid upon it be judicious, he has by no means exhauſted the ſubject. Remember that the education of youth conſiſts leſs in admoniſhing them, than in the examples and objects with which they are ſurrounded; and that almoſt all the misfortunes of

our

our ancient empires, ariſe from the contraſt between the precepts inſtilled into the infant, and the examples placed before the youth. But with you the characters of the parent and the child, of the young and the old, ought to correſpond in every reſpect. The plan of education which I have deſcribed at the beginning of theſe reflections, was not meant as a vain declamation or an unmeaning rhapſody. What I have painted with all the warmth of a ſoul glowing with zeal for your happineſs, it behoves you to execute by the force of your inſtitutions. Multiply your monuments, rites, and commemorative ceremonies. Already you have given reaſon all the weight of authority, by conſecrating the rights of mankind into poſitive laws. Amongſt you, thoſe eternal truths, thoſe noble principles, are no longer ſubjects of diſpute, but ordinances of the legiſlature. At the very outſet of your career, you have taken a giant's ſtride towards the improvement of the human ſpecies, and towards ſtrengthening the monument erected by your hands: go on and complete your work. Form by inſtruction, and ſtill more create by example, and by the only efficacious and permanent impreſſion, that of external ſigns, a generation, worthy the epoch of your revolution; a race of men, which conſtantly growing up in the principles of wiſdom, will love juſtice and moderation, deteſt ambition and war, thoſe ſcourges of mankind, and at length diſplay to the world, the union, hitherto ſo uncommon, of knowledge with virtue,

virtue, and of peace with liberty. Let tyrants tremble at the very name of your happy regions! Let the oppreſſed ever find an aſylum there! and may ſome gleam of happineſs be reflected from your coaſts, which may at leaſt alleviate the misfortunes of the old world!

DETACHED NOTES

UPON

DR. PRICE'S WORK.

I.

"*WHO, even at the beginning of this century, would* "*have thought, that in a few years they would acquire* "*the power of ſubjecting to their wills the dreadful force* "*of lightning, and of flying in aëroſtatic machines?*"
See p. 178.

Dr. Price in this, as well as in many other inſtances in the courſe of this work, riſes above the prejudices of his countrymen. Being, like him, well perſuaded that the invention of aëroſtatic machines will very conſiderably augment the power of mankind, and will, perhaps, at ſome time or other, totally change the face of human affairs (1); it is with

(1) It would not be difficult, for inſtance, to prove, that aëroſtatic machines may, even before they be at all improved, have conſiderable influence in war, both by land and ſea. Perhaps that horrid infatuation called WAR will never ceaſe, till the art of deſtruction be carried to its higheſt perfection.

equal ſurpriſe and concern, that I have obſerved the Engliſh nation, which is ſo diſtinguiſhed for every ſpecies of merit and of knowledge, paſſing from the moſt abſurd incredulity, and the moſt unaccountable indifference about this admirable diſcovery, to an unexampled enthuſiaſm for the moſt ignorant pretenders to ſcience: while the public curioſity has never been awakened to the progreſs of the art. A diſcovery which the moſt reſpectable of the learned in France, and even in England, have thought deſerving of their profoundeſt meditations, has been diſgraced at London by a ſordid love of gain (2). The dreſs, the ridiculous apparatus, the impoſing fopperies of the men who firſt in England exhibited the ſpectacle of this aërial navigation, were followed by crowds of admirers (3), while, perhaps, in all the three kingdoms,

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(2) *Vide infra*, in the note by the Duke de Chaulnes, an account of Dr. Prieſtley's fine experiment.

(3) Who could have believed, that the dog and the cat, which accompanied Signor Lunardi in his aërial voyage, would have attracted the curioſity of all London and Weſtminſter, and would have drawn from them a tribute of more than four thouſand pounds? Who could have believed, that perſons of diſtinction would have prided themſelves upon having been able to touch Signor Lunardi's coat at the Pantheon? Who could have believed, that that honeſt Italian, for having mounted in a balloon, clumſily made, and unſkillfully filled—in a balloon, which was advertiſed to carry two perſons, but would only raiſe himſelf, and which would not even have raiſed *him*, if it had weighed ten pounds

doms, there have not been ſold five and twenty copies of the reports of the academy of ſciences of Paris, and of the other memoirs, which aſcertain the diſcovery, and the very rapid progreſs of this new invention. Indeed the Engliſh, with the exception of a very ſmall number of men of ſcience, and of men ſuperior to national prejudices, are not at all deſirous to hear any information on the ſubject (4).

pounds more than it did, ſince he was obliged to change his gallery and to throw out all his ballaſt before it would aſcend; who could have believed, that that honeſt Italian would have received higher honours than ever were paid to Capt. Cook? Who could have believed that the Sieur Blanchard, who, according to his judicious cuſtom, did not fail to adverti ſe, that he would diſplay evolutions and manœuvres, and to call for the concourſe of veſſels of all nations to enſure his paſſage to the continent (which is a very eaſy enterpriſe, and ought to have been executed long ago, by thoſe who conſider balloons only as a means of getting money), who could have believed that the Sieur Blanchard, who did not perform any one thing that he had promiſed, would have been able to balance the idolatry paid to honeſt Lunardi, whoſe ENGLISH BALLOON had nevertheleſs the advantage of having been the firſt in time, and of having an auſpicious and popular name? Who could have believed——but indeed I have not the moſt diſtant intention of diminiſhing the glory of theſe illuſtrious aëronauts: I could only wiſh, that leſs attention were paid to them, and more to the perfection of the art.

(4) The name of M. Meunier is hardly known in England. See an account of his experiment in the note of the Duke de Chaulnes.

Perhaps the prejudices, which the Engliſh have conceived againſt theſe diſcoveries, may be accounted for, by conſidering in what contempt the ſenſible part of the nation hold that rage, which, for a year paſt, has converted into an oſtentatious and childiſh ſpectacle, a diſcovery, which ought to have been matured in ſilence, and which cannot be any further improved but by experiments, that cannot be made in the preſence of an impatient multitude. But, if this be the cauſe of thoſe prejudices, I will venture to ſay that they are not, on that account, the leſs irrational: for that rage, which is in truth very contemptible, is nothing more than a metamorphoſis of avarice; and only furniſhes an additional reaſon to diſpoſſeſs that paſſion of ſo noble a field, and to reſtore it to ſcience, and true philanthropy; an enterpriſe in which all learned men ought to concur. I intended to have written ſome obſervations upon this ſubject, when the Duke de Chaulnes furniſhed me with the note, which I have ſubjoined. He has treated the ſubject with that preciſion and clearneſs, which diſtinguiſh all the memoirs that he has written upon different parts of the natural ſciences. I thought that men of ſenſe, who are not very well verſed in natural philoſophy, might derive from this note a clear and adequate idea of the theory of aëroſtatic machines, ſufficient, at leaſt, to convince them of their importance. One cannot too earneſtly exhort the Engliſh, by their glory and their humanity, the intereſts of which they will at ſome time or other, no doubt, prefer to thoſe of their national pretenſions, —one cannot too earneſtly exhort them to apply themſelves

ſelves to the perfecting of an admirable art, the theory of which is in ſome degree their own, ſince it is to the chymiſts of England that we principally owe the moſt curious experiments upon the different kinds of air: and even were it otherwiſe, is not every uſeful diſcovery the nobleſt conqueſt of mankind, whatever be the country in which it has been made?

An Engliſhman has declared, that he would have given half his fortune that air balloons had not been diſcovered by a Frenchman; and that he would have given his whole fortune, that the diſcovery had been made by an Engliſhman:—a declaration which beſpeaks neither magnanimity nor wiſdom; and which, were it the ſentiment of the nation, and not the expreſſion of an illiberal individual, would afford matter of humiliation indeed, but not to the French. I know ſeveral of that nation, who regret that the diſcovery was not made by an Engliſhman, becauſe then the enthuſiaſm of a people of ſtrong paſſions, of great perſeverance, and poſſeſſed of invaluable means of improvement, would have haſtened the perfection of this unforeſeen, and, ſpite of what envy may ſay, this noble and important diſcovery.

Seven years ago, a writer of conſiderable name in Europe, was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf preciſely in theſe words.

"The art of flying through the air, notwith-
"ſtanding the chimæras which have been lately

"publiſhed

" publiſhed (5) upon the means of realizing it, *will*
" *never be diſcovered. Neither individuals, nor vehicles,*
" *will ever float acroſs the atmoſphere. The phyſical*
" IMPOSSIBILITY OF THESE PROJECTS IS DEMON-
" STRATED. But were they poſſible, the execution of
" ſuch a deſign would be very pernicious. Men do
" but too much miſchief to one another already, in
" their progreſſes over the globe, both on foot and in
" carriages. What then might we not apprehend, if
" the air were ſeen darkened with battalions, who,
" ſailing in clouds, would fall with the impetuoſity
" of a tempeſt upon regions, which no precautions
" could have ſecured againſt ſuch an invaſion! A
" ſimilar revolution would take place in ſociety, if
" men could become inviſible, paſs rapidly acroſs the
" wideſt ſpace, and penetrate into the places the moſt
" ſtrongly ſecured. *But it is to be hoped that this will*
" *never be performed, but in fairy tales* (6)."

It is unneceſſary, I believe, to point out the abſurdity of this emphatical nonſenſe, which, one would think,

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(5) This is an alluſion, without doubt, to the adverti*ſe*ments of the Sieur Blanchard and his compeers, the pretended mechanics, who, ſeveral years ago, were ſure that they could fly through the air, were they once poſſeſſed of the means of raiſing themſelves; and who have forgot theſe declarations now, that they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe means.

(6) Extracted from a memoir of Mr. Formey upon the queſtion, " whether all truths ought to be made public?"

Mém.

think, had been the text of the ſuperficial and deciſive geniuſes, who as well in England as in France, and in many other parts of Europe, have affected, for ſeveral months paſt, to ſpeak with contempt, or with apprehenſions, of one of the greateſt diſcoveries ever made by man. Every ſenſible perſon muſt eaſily perceive, that all the objections which can be made againſt the aëroſtatic machine, might have been urged, with equal force, againſt the diſcovery of fire, of ploughs, of ladders, of matches, in a word, againſt the invention of all the conveniences, and even of all the neceſſaries of life. But let it be frequently repeated, as an eternal leſſon to preſumptuous men, and to thoſe who detract from every thing great, that in the year 1777, it was printed among the memoirs of the academy of

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Mém. de l'acad. de Berlin, pour 1777, p. 138.——See too the *Annales civiles, politiques & littéraires. Genéve, année* 1782, No. 22. *article* POMPES HYDRAULIQUES EN SERVICE ACTUEL, which is, if poſſible, ſtill more abſurd than the paſſage from M. Formey. It is remarkable enough, that this article in the *Annales*, where ridicule is ſo clumſily thrown upon the aëroſtatic art, the ſecret of which is there ſaid *to have been loſt ever ſince the days of* ancient Icarus, of diſcouraging memory, was printed a few weeks before the memoirs, in which M. Montgolfier demonſtrated his noble diſcovery. And this is the more remarkable, as it is certainly impoſſible not to eſteem the author of that periodical publication, at leaſt for his talents and his information.

Berlin, that *the phyſical impoſſibility of any man, or any vehicles, ſailing acroſs the atmoſphere, was demonſtrated; and that ſuch a voyage would never be performed but in fairy tales.*

Thus do we find a philoſopher, only five years before the invention of the aëroſtatic machine, declaring *that the invention was both pernicious and impoſſible!*

When will philoſophers have the courage to deliberate and to doubt? When will men be convinced, that, if heaven had refuſed them the few thinkers who have inſtructed them, it would be matter of doubt whether the human ſpecies were entitled to any pre-eminence over ourang-outangs; and that it is, therefore, a ſacrilegious madneſs to depreciate the efforts of genius? When will nations learn, that every ſucceſsful effort of the human intellect deſerves the favour, the reſpect, and the gratitude of all the world? —But let us hear the Duc de Chaulnes.

ON AËROSTATIC BALLOONS.

To ſpeak intelligibly upon any new ſubject, it is neceſſary to begin with a detail of the principal facts which have attended its diſcovery.

The aëroſtatic art was inconteſtibly diſcovered by M. de Montgolfier. He was the firſt who raiſed large machines by rarefying the air contained in them: this proceſs produces air which is lighter than atmoſpheric air, nearly in the ratio of 2 to 1.

M. Charles

M. Charles had already raiſed and burſt ſoap-bubbles filled with inflammable air, according to the proceſs of M. Cavallo. The ſpecific gravity of this air, made from the vitriolic acid, and iron, and generated only in ſmall quantities in the laboratories, is, to that of the external air, as 1 to 10. When made in large quantities, it is nearly as 1 to 6; and by particular proceſſes it may be obtained in the ratio of 1 to 17: conſequently, there was a very great advantage in employing inflammable air for the purpoſe of raiſing balloons.

After the diſcovery of M. de Montgolfier, M. Charles entertained the idea of uſing this air. Meſſ. Roberts, two brothers, who live in the ſame houſe with him, and who underſtand the mechanical part perfectly well, conſtructed the firſt balloon that was ſent off from the Thuilleries, and in which Meſſ. Charles and Roberts travelled.

Meſſ. Roberts have ſince conſtructed by themſelves, at St. Cloud, the balloon of 52 feet in length, by 30, which belongs to the Duke de Chartres; and that of 44 feet by 26, cylindrical as the former, in which they aſcended in September laſt.

The filling of balloons with inflammable air, produced from the vitriolic acid, being very expenſive, Dr. Prieſtley has juſt diſcovered a proceſs, attended with little expence, and which reſembles much that which is adopted by M. Lavoiſier, to generate this air. The French chymiſt makes the ſteam of boiling

water

water paſs through the barrel of a gun, kept red-hot by burning coals. Inſtead of the gun barrel, Dr. Prieſtley uſes a tube of red-hot braſs, upon which the ſteam of water has no effect, and which he fills with the pieces of iron which are ſeparated in the boring of cannon. By this method he obtains an inflammable air, the ſpecific gravity of which is, to that of the common air, as 1 to 13. Dr. Prieſtley, in a manner equally honourable and unuſual, was candid enough to mention what had been done before him in France upon this ſubject.

At length, M. Meunier, a young officer of much information, who has ſucceeded M. d'Alembert, member of the academy of ſciences, has juſt publiſhed the moſt learned, the moſt ingenious, the cleareſt, and in a word, the moſt important eſſay upon the manner of raiſing balloons, without the loſs of ballaſt, or of inflammable air, the former of which it is impoſſible, and the latter it is very difficult, to ſupply in the air. In his balloon, he incloſes a ſmaller, filled with common air, which is of courſe compreſſed by the dilatation of the inflammable air, in proportion as it riſes in laminæ of air, which are becoming gradually leſs denſe than itſelf. This compreſſion diminiſhes the quantity of atmoſpheric air in the little balloon as it riſes, and conſequently leſſens its weight. If it be neceſſary to ſupply this loſs, it is eaſily done by a pair of bellows fixed in the gallery. At the concluſion of this ingenious contrivance, M. Meunier gives a table, calculated with much accu-

racy,

racy, of the different degrees of the ſpecific gravity of the air, at the progreſſive altitudes to which the loſs of equilibrium makes the balloon aſcend. In reading this excellent eſſay, we cannot but feel a ſatisfaction in learning that M. Meunier is one of the commiſſioners appointed by the academy of ſciences at Paris, to improve the aëroſtatic art; and at the ſame time, we cannot obſerve without regret, that the name of M. Meunier is ſcarcely known in England.

There are, therefore, at preſent, two methods employed for raiſing balloons.

One by rarefying the air. This method diminiſhes the weight only in the ratio of 2 to 1; and conſequently requires a balloon of a much larger ſize: but the rarefaction of the air may be kept up by materials of little expence, and readily procured. It is no difficult matter to avoid ſetting the balloons, thus filled, on fire; an accident which has hitherto too frequently happened.

The other method is by inflammable air, which is attended with great advantages. It has hitherto been very expenſive; but it will become much leſs ſo, by the proceſs of the iron chippings, and the ſteam of water, than by that of the vitriolic acid; the materials are cheap, and furniſh a great quantity of air, in proportion to their weight and to their bulk. The ſize of the balloons therefore, and conſequently the quantity of the expenſive materials of which they are made, is conſiderably diminiſhed: for the diminution of weight, obtained

tained by rarefying the air, is only as 2 to 1, and by the common gaz, as 6 to 1; while in this proceſs, it is declared by Dr. Prieſtley, to be as 13 to 1: beſides, by adopting, with Meſſ. Roberts, the cylindrical form by which the capacity of the machine is doubled, without increaſing the reſiſtance, great advantages are gained, eſpecially with reſpect to the poſſibility of directing it; ſo that it is probable, that with balloons of 30 feet in height, by 15, or 19 in diameter, the ſame weight can be raiſed, as Meſſ. Roberts took up in their laſt voyage. This weight is from about 800, to 1000 pounds, beſides the weight of the globe itſelf.

We cannot ſtate any facts ſo ſatisfactory as theſe, reſpecting the modes of directing balloons. It is to be feared, that we ſhall for a long time be impeded by the grand obſtacle, the reſiſtance, which the balloons experience, by reaſon of their large ſurface. We have not in air as in water, the reſource of a fixed point of action upon a fluid, which alſo has much more reſiſtance than air. It is therefore difficult in a long voyage, to rely upon the continued efforts of the ſmall number of perſons the balloon can carry up; and the number of whom cannot be increaſed, without increaſing the bulk of the machine. It is true that the reſiſtance of its ſurface, which is that of the great circle of the ſphere, does not increaſe in proportion to its ſolidity, and conſequently not in proportion to the force required by its ſize to ſubdue the equilibrium. But we have as yet nothing ſufficiently accurate upon this point, to induce us to add any conſiderable increaſe to the bulk of the balloon, in the

ratio

ratio of which bulk alone, more men might be carried up, or more mechanical means of overcoming the reſiſtance of a given current of air required.

It is, however, certain, from the obſervations already made, that at different heights, different currents of air exiſt, and ſometimes in oppoſite directions; and upon this circumſtance alone, is founded the only hope of directing theſe machines, that has yet preſented itſelf. Now, as we are at preſent able to aſcend, or deſcend at pleaſure, perhaps it may be found poſſible to go in ſearch of theſe currents: perhaps too, an attention to the means by which birds fly againſt the wind, added to obſervations of comparative anatomy upon fiſh and birds (7), which ſurmount the currents of the two fluids that are common to us and them, may poſſibly ſuggeſt new ideas, with reſpect to the direction of aëroſtatic machines.

Time alone, and numerous experiments, can bring theſe reflections to maturity, and realize theſe expectations. Experiments, therefore, cannot be too much encouraged, nor too frequently made.

But, excluſive of the circumſtance of directing air balloons, the greateſt, and perhaps the only improvement which remains to be made in the aëroſtatic art, though diſ-

(7) M. Tenon has already given a learned eſſay upon this ſubject, to the academy of ſciences at Paris.

diſcovered only about a twelvemonth ago, it ſtill preſents us, even in its preſent ſtate, with numerous advantages. Obſervatories and laboratories may be had in the moſt elevated ſituations, adapted to all circumſtances; few of which require a degree of elevation, difficult to be attained. The experiments of natural philoſophy, and of chymiſtry, which have already been made, may be repeated in all regions, and at all altitudes; many new ones may be tried, particularly upon electricity, and upon the cauſes of the direction and variation of the magnetic needle: in a word, the ſeveral degrees of rarefaction, and temperature, indicated by the barometer, and by the thermometer, may be aſcertained throughout the atmoſphere. All the natural ſciences have therefore acquired a great additional advantage. The art of war is already changed. By means of balloons we may become exactly acquainted with all the manœuvres of the enemy. Fleets can no more be ſeparated by a ſtorm, if every veſſel ſend off from the bottom of its maſt a balloon, carrying up a perſon to make obſervations with a teleſcope. Intelligence may be conveyed into a place that is beſieged. Geography and aſtronomy may perhaps derive ſtill greater advantages from aëroſtatic machines. It may hereafter be poſſible to aſcend with eaſe to heights which have hitherto been inacceſſible by every known method. We may be able, as it were, to copy with an abſolute certainty, geographical plans and charts, which have hitherto been only unfaithful directors. We may now, with the greateſt facility and ſecurity, extend our views behind inacceſſible objects,

jects, of which we could before have only falſe, or at leaſt, dubious accounts. In a word, we ſhall enjoy all the advantages which can reſult from a vertical ſurvey of all objects, from any altitude we wiſh.

Balloons have hitherto been almoſt the excluſive property of mountebanks, who have concealed, as much as poſſible, every thing which could render the experiment eaſy to be repeated, and conſequently to be improved. Moſt of them, guided only by the eager deſire of gain, and almoſt entirely ignorant of the ſubject, have devoted themſelves to a ſpeculation merely lucrative; and have had no other view than to exhibit their balloons, and even the animals that had gone up in them, in large rooms, at a ſhilling a head, as if we did not know that a dog, or a cat, can breathe in the ſame air as a man.

On the other hand, while aëroſtatic experiments have been repeated in almoſt every part of the globe, they ſeem in England to have only awakened national animoſity and jealouſy: and the honour of having firſt raiſed a balloon in England was given to a foreigner, only upon condition, as it ſhould *ſeem*, that he were not a Frenchman.

I have often heard perſons in London boaſt, with as little ſenſe as philoſophy, of their indifference about balloons; and, even among the learned, there ſeems to have been a kind of confederacy, to diſregard the moſt curious experiment that ever was made, the diſ-

covery

covery of which accident had placed upon the territory of France.

II.

" *THE majority of the Britiſh houſe of commons is* " *choſen by a few thouſands of the dregs of the people, who* " *are conſtantly paid for their votes.——Is it not ridi-* " *culous to call a country ſo governed free?*" See note, p. 187.

I have heard this note charged with exaggeration. A ſhort, but accurate review of the manner, in which the people of Great-Britain are repreſented in parliament, will be ſufficient to juſtify Dr. Price, and to give a clear idea of the queſtion: for though foreigners are perpetually aſſerting, that the Engliſh are not properly repreſented, few, I believe, are able to point out the defects of their repreſentation.

With reſpect to England, I ſhall ſtate the facts mentioned by Mr. Burgh (8), as the reſult of Mr. Brown Willis's calculations, the truth of which has never been queſtioned. As to Scotland, which is ſtill more unequally repreſented than England, I take my

(8) *Political diſquiſitions; or an enquiry into public errors, defects, and abuſes.* Vol. I. ch. iv. p. 39. & ſeq.

my facts from the *Letters of Zeno* (9), which are allowed to be perfectly accurate.

In England, the voice of a majority is conſidered as the voice of the whole number of electors. For example, where a town has ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY voters, SEVENTY-SIX conſtitute a majority; in the ſame manner as in parliament, TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY votes have as much force as FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT, and give a bill the ſanction of a law.

This, at the outſet, is certainly an inconvenience: but it is nothing in compariſon to the exceſſive diſproportion between the rights of election of the towns and boroughs, which are repreſented in parliament (10). For inſtance:

GRAMPOUND ſends TWO repreſentatives, who are choſen by a majority conſiſting of FIVE votes; the right of election reſiding in a corporation compoſed of NINE members.

(9) *Letters of Zeno, addreſſed to the citizens of Edinburgh, on parliamentary repreſentation; and particularly on the imperfect repreſentation for the city of Edinburgh, and the other burghs of Scotland.*—Edinburgh, 1783.

(10) Mr. Burgh maintains, that the comparative ſums, contributed by each county towards defraying the public expences, furniſh as ſtriking an inſtance of inequality, as their parliamentary repreſentation.

At WHITCHURCH TWO repreſentatives are elected by the freeholders, who cannot be above FORTY in number, as THERE ARE NOT MORE THAN A HUNDRED HOUSES IN THE TOWN.

ANDOVER ſends TWO members, who are choſen by a majority conſiſting of THIRTEEN votes. THE TOWN CONTAINS SIX HUNDRED HOUSES.

NEWTON—TWO members choſen by A SINGLE ELECTOR—the voters being the mayor and twelve burgeſſes, who are appointed by the owner of the borough.

OLD SARUM—TWO members choſen by A SINGLE ELECTOR. In the year 1750, according to Willis, there was BUT ONE HOUSE at Old Sarum. At preſent that ſingle houſe is gone; but the owner of the borough appoints a bailiff and ſix burgeſſes, to whom he ſends his *congé d'élire*. The two members named by them are the repreſentatives of the owner of the borough, who, as well as the proprietor of the borough of Newton, is thus magnificently repreſented in parliament, while LONDON itſelf, where there are EIGHT THOUSAND voters, has only FOUR repreſentatives; ſo that in the balance of the ſtate, TWO men have equal weight with EIGHT THOUSAND.

The two little towns of BOROUGHBRIDGE and ALDBOROUGH are both in one pariſh, which is the only pariſh in England that has FOUR repreſentatives.

DEVIZES

DEVIZES ſends TWO members, who are elected by a majority conſiſting of SEVENTY-TWO.

MARLBOROUGH has TWO repreſentatives, choſen by a majority compoſed of TWO votes; that is to ſay, by a corporation, conſiſting of a mayor, and two bailiffs.

By adding up the other little towns and boroughs, it appears, that TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR members are elected by FIVE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE votes. "Now the "moſt numerous meeting of the commons ever known, "was on occaſion of the debate about Walpole, in "the year 1741. There were then five hundred and "two members in the houſe: therefore two hundred "and fifty-four comes very near a majority of the na-"tional repreſentative."

The greateſt part of theſe FIVE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE men, who nominate the legiſlators of the Engliſh people, and give them an unlimited authority over the property of the nation, are not poſſeſſed of a foot of land. Add to this, that not a man of theſe TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR members, who conſtitute pretty nearly a moiety of the repreſentatives of the nation, is elected by ſo many as THREE HUNDRED VOTES—that many of them are returned by leſs than TWENTY electors; who, having no property, are the moſt likely to be corrupted.

The repreſentation of Scotland is ſtill more extraordinary: it contains SIXTY-SIX cities, or burghs, which are entitled to repreſentation in parliament. Before the union, Edinburgh returned to the Scottiſh parliament TWO repreſentatives; and ONE repreſentative was ſent by each of the other burghs. Thus the eſtate of burgeſſes, or third eſtate of the Scottiſh parliament (11), conſiſted of SIXTY-SEVEN members in all. By the act of union, however, the burghs of Scotland are entitled to ſend only FIFTEEN repreſentatives to the parliament of Great-Britain. Of theſe the city of Edinburgh elects ONE; and the other burghs are divided into fourteen ſeveral claſſes, or diſtricts; ONE repreſentative ONLY being choſen by each diſtrict, for the whole burghs of which the diſtrict is compoſed (12). The election of theſe fifteen repreſentatives is conducted in this manner:—The repreſentative for Edinburgh is choſen by the town council of that city, conſiſting of THIRTY-THREE members. The repreſentatives for the ſeveral diſtricts, into which the other burghs are divided, are each choſen by FOUR or FIVE commiſſioners or delegates, ONE from each burgh of the diſtrict. Theſe delegates are elected by the town councils of the ſeveral burghs in the diſtrict; but after their election, they are not ſubject to

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(11) The parliament of Scotland was compoſed of three eſtates; the clergy—the barons—and the burgeſſes.

(12) Theſe claſſes, or diſtricts, are each compoſed of four or five burghs.

the direction or control of the councils, being at full liberty to give their votes in favour of any perſon they pleaſe, and are not accountable to the councils for their conduct. Conſequently theſe delegates muſt be conſidered, to all intents and purpoſes, as the abſolute and uncontrolable electors of the repreſentatives for the ſeveral diſtricts of burghs. And the council of the burghs in theſe diſtricts, having only the power of appointing delegates, can be ſaid to have, at beſt, but an indirect repreſentation in parliament.

Theſe particulars being premiſed, I ſhall now give a numerical ſtatement of the repreſentation for the burghs of Scotland.

Burghs.	Repreſentatives.	Electors.
Edinburgh ſends to parliament	1	33
Tain, Dingwall, &c.	1	5
Inverneſs, Nairn, &c.	1	4
Elgin, Banff, &c.	1	5
Aberdeen, Montroſe, &c.	1	5
Perth, Dundee, &c.	1	5
Anſtruther, Pittenweem, &c.	1	5
Dyſart, Kirkcaldy, &c.	1	4
Stirling, Inverkeithing, &c.	1	5
Glaſgow, Dunbarton, &c.	1	4
Haddington, Jedburgh, &c.	1	5
Linlithgow, Selkirk, &c.	1	4
Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, &c.	1	5
Wigton, Whithorn, &c.	1	4
Ayr, Irvine, &c.	1	5
	15	98

Hence it appears, that the repreſentatives for all the burghs of Scotland are choſen by only NINETY EIGHT ELECTORS;—though thoſe burghs, at a moderate computation, are ſuppoſed to contain about THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND inhabitants. There are THIRTY repreſentatives for the counties of Scotland, which contain about TWELVE HUNDRED THOUSAND inhabitants.—Theſe are facts which need no comment.

In a word, of the FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT repreſentatives of Great-Britain(13), the members for counties are only ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-ONE; of whom FORTY-TWO are for Scotland and Wales.

SO THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BOROUGHS ARE FOUR TIMES AS MANY AS THOSE OF THE COUNTIES.

" The

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(13) It muſt be remarked, that the eldeſt ſons of Scotch peers are declared incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons. But the ſons of Engliſh peers may ſit; ſo that ten individuals out of one family may be legiſlators.

The above note, which the author has copied from Mr. Burgh, ſeems to be erroneous. The eldeſt ſons of Scotch Peers are certainly incapable of ſitting in the Britiſh houſe of commons, as the repreſentatives of any ſhire or borough of Scotland; but it has never been determined, that they are incapable of repreſenting Engliſh boroughs or counties; and the borough of Malmſbury is at this moment repreſented by Lord Maitland, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Lauderdale.—Note of the tranſlator.

" The Britiſh government, therefore," ſays Mr. Burgh, " taking it according to its avowed ſtate, is " neither abſolute monarchy nor limited monarchy, " nor ariſtocracy, nor democracy; nor a mixture of " monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy; but may be " called a PTOCHOCRACY—a government of beggars. " For a few beggarly boroughs do avowedly elect the " moſt important part of the government, the part " which commands the purſe.

" Is this the univerſally admired, and univerſally " envied, Britiſh conſtitution?

" And what point can be gained by a diſſolution of " parliament? It is a handful of beggars, bribed, or " awed, by the court, or the grandees, that ſend the " majority of members into the houſe. Will they " not ſend back the ſame men? Do they dare to ſend " any others?"

I have neither any inclination, nor any right, to uſe the harſh language of Mr. Burgh. None but Engliſhmen have a right to ſpeak ill of the Engliſh. It ſhould ſeem that writers had ſought to conſole other nations, by telling them of the defects and abuſes of the Engliſh conſtitution. But the conſolation is like that which ſlaves, loaded with heavy irons, would receive from hearing the lamentations of men bound with ſilken cords. The reſtraint impoſed on the latter, leaves them all their ſenſibility, while the former loſe all ſentiment. I am neither ſo unjuſt, nor ſo inconſiderate. But I will be bold to ſay, that the preſent parliamentary repreſentation of England excludes

all political liberty. *New blood*, ſaid the illuſtrious Chatham, *muſt be infuſed into the conſtitution*: and the time is, perhaps, arrived, when it moſt deeply concerns the Engliſh to ſet ſeriouſly, and with their natural perſeverance, about that important operation. I will add one more obſervation, becauſe it ſeems to me not to have been attended to.

The trial of the Dean of St. Aſaph at this moment engroſſes the public attention. Perhaps the province of the judge, and of the jury, in matters of libel, will be at laſt aſcertained in a country where the liberty of the preſs is with reaſon conſidered as the palladium of all other liberty; and where the only ſecurity which the ſubject now has, is that public ſpirit which generally actuates juries: though juries do not always think proper, as appears upon the preſent occaſion, to exerciſe their right, or their power of deciding whether the paper in queſtion be, or be not, a libel. As if men were not bound to make every exertion in their power in the cauſe of liberty;—as if every defendant, who is accuſed of having publiſhed a libel, will not be continually threatened with ſome arbitrary ſtretch of power, if juries leave it to the judges to decide upon his guilt or innocence.

But be this as it may, the ſubject of this famous trial is a dialogue upon political reſiſtance, which is ſomewhat abrupt, perhaps, in its tranſitions; but which does not, at leaſt in my opinion, carry the theory of reſiſtance ſo far as every man, who has a ſound underſtanding and a free ſpirit, muſt deſire to

ſee it carried. And it is made a queſtion, whether this dialogue be not a libel.

Indeed, if we reflect upon the almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, which a man, whoſe averſion to falſehoods and to half-truths is nearly equal, and who would avoid alike puſillanimity and falſehood, muſt encounter in explaining the theory of reſiſtance, even in England, as long as the nation continues to be ſo unequally repreſented as it is at preſent, we cannot be ſurpriſed at the great variety of opinions which are entertained on ſo plain a ſubject.

Certainly the majority of the nation alone has, or can have, a right to reſiſt the executive power; and, indeed, *reſiſtance* is an improper expreſſion. The nation ought not to reſiſt; it is, and muſt for ever be, the ſovereign. When its intervention is become neceſſary, it ſhould not *reſiſt*, but *command*. But what is the nation? What is the majority of the nation? How is it to be known? how aſcertained?

How embarraſſing do theſe queſtions become among a people who are ſo ill repreſented! How much more embarraſſing when one reflects, that by the Engliſh conſtitution, the executive power is an integral part of the legiſlative power; ſo that, theoretically ſpeaking, the parliament, that is, two branches of the legiſlative power, have no right to judge the third!—If the nation alone have a right to reſiſt, if the nation be not repreſented in parliament, and if reſiſtance be neceſſary to obtain a fair repreſentation of the nation,

what

what is the ſituation of the Engliſh? How will they be delivered from this circle?

But this is an enquiry which it is not my intention to proſecute; not that I think with Rouſſeau, that the evil is inſeparable from the ſubject; or with many Engliſhmen, that a more equal repreſentation is impoſſible, or even difficult to effect; but becauſe it becomes the Engliſh themſelves to ſolve this important problem. I meet with ſo many difficulties in aſcertaining the moſt trifling fact; and I become every day ſo much more fully convinced, that to underſtand any thing, one muſt have ſeen it one's ſelf, that I do not, I confeſs, comprehend the conduct of thoſe writers, who haſtily conſtitute themſelves the inſtructors of foreign nations. It is much, if after having for years ſtudied a country, its inſtitutions, and its manners, one may venture for a few minutes to adviſe.

All that I purpoſed, therefore, by this note, was to ſhew that Dr. Price did not exaggerate; and that one of England's greateſt misfortunes is, that its parliamentary repreſentation is very unequal, and one may add, that the parliament is greatly intereſted that it ſhould continue ſo. For when one knows, for inſtance, that a certain member of the houſe of commons, a noble lord, and a repreſentative of the little borough of Banbury (whoſe electors are only the ſixteen or eighteen perſons who compoſe the corporation, though the borough conſiſts of four or five hundred families), has oppoſed every improvement

of

of the repreſentation, under the pretext of *his inviolable reſpect for the venerable fabric of the ſacred conſtitution of England*, one cannot be at a loſs to gueſs what was his meaning, and what ever will be his meaning upon that ſubject. But if, on the other hand, a ſincere friend of liberty were to exclaim, "take the "right of election from all theſe feodal boroughs, "which have long ceaſed to deſerve that name, and "which are deſtitute of citizens, which are receptacles of corruption, which contain nothing but mercenaries, nothing but the menial retainers of proud "and avaricious ariſtocratical chiefs, who buy, and "are themſelves ſold;—take from theſe boroughs their "right of election, and increaſe the number of the "electors for counties;" would not the meaning too of this friend of liberty be pretty plain?

N. B. Since the above note was written, the cauſe of the Dean of St. Aſaph has received a ſolemn deciſion, in which a majority of the judges of the king's bench have declared, that by law, upon every trial for a libel, the jury are bound, by their oaths, to decide only whether the party accuſed publiſhed the paper in queſtion, and to reſerve it to the court to determine, whether the paper be or be not a libel.

Taking it for granted, as a foreigner muſt do, that this doctrine is the undoubted law of the land, it is clear, notwithſtanding all that we have heard, and fondly believed, about Engliſh freedom and Engliſh juries,

juries, that the liberty of the preſs is, in this country, a uſeleſs privilege; and that the trial by jury is, in queſtions of the higheſt importance, a mere matter of form: the Engliſh, however, have been hitherto ſincere in boaſting of their privileges; they deceived themſelves: they dreamed that they were poſſeſſed of theſe important birth-rights, till the deciſion of this fatal cauſe diſpelled the viſion, and awakened them to all the gloom of their real ſituation.

One cannot but congratulate the people of England, that the ſalutary opinion of the extenſive rights of juries was not ſooner diſcovered to be erroneous, and that in the reign of James II. it had ſuch firm hold of the minds of all men, that to its good effects upon the trial of the ſeven biſhops, they are in a great degree indebted for the glorious revolution. The judges of the king's bench, indeed, acknowledge, that, though juries have not a *right* to decide upon the criminality or innocence of the ſuppoſed libel, ſtill they have the *power* to do it without puniſhment, and without a poſſibility of their judgements being reverſed. And as long as this diſtinction between power and right (which probably nothing but a profound knowledge of the principles of Engliſh juriſprudence can render at all intelligible) ſhall be preſerved, the people of this country will have one reſource leſt. For if, upon any future occaſion, when the deciſion by the jury of the queſtion, *whether libel or not*, will preſerve the ſpirit of the conſtitution, though it offend againſt the letter of the law, a jury

ſhould

ſhould be tempted to deviate from the duty preſcribed them by their oaths, in order to reſcue out of the hands of power, ſome brave aſſertor of the people's right, he muſt be a ſevere moraliſt indeed, who could deny that this was one of the very few caſes in which one might exclaim,

Falſehood ſublime! What truth will ever be
So fair, ſo noble, as to rival thee (14)?

But whether juries, having loſt the right, will long retain the power, and whether liberties can be deemed ſecure, which are to be defended only by uncommon exertions, and an enthuſiaſm of public ſpirit, which many Engliſhmen, with too much reaſon, lament they ſee ſinking among them every day, are queſtions worthy the moſt ſerious reflection of the nation.

III.

" *To preſerve this equality, and its conſequences, as long*
" *as poſſible, ſome great men (Plato, Sir Thomas More,*
" *Mr. Wallace, &c.) have propoſed plans,* &c. p. 188.

Mr. Wallace, whom many perſons will perhaps be ſurpriſed to find ranked with Plato and Sir Thomas More, and who, though he had conſiderable merit, cannot

(14) *Magnanima menzogna! or, quando è il vero*
Si bello, che ſi poſſa à te preporre?

cannot be called a great man without exaggeration, is very little known, even in his own country. The eſteem in which he was held by two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his contemporaries, David Hume, whom he criticiſed, and Dr. Price, who has ſeveral times ſpoken of him with encomiums, ought to have given his works a greater reputation than they enjoy.

Hume, in his *Eſſay on the populouſneſs of antient nations*, which was printed in the year 1752, maintains that the populouſneſs of the moderns is ſuperior to that of the antients. Mr. Wallace, in a *Diſſertation on the numbers of mankind in ancient and modern times*, printed in the year 1753, contends on the contrary, that the ancient nations were the moſt populous. Hume, in a ſubſequent edition of his eſſay, inſerted a note, in which he ſaid, "that his diſcourſe had "been honoured with an anſwer, full of politeneſs, "erudition, and good ſenſe; that ſo learned a refuta- "tion would have made him ſuſpect, that his reaſon- "ings were entirely overthrown, had he not uſed the "precaution from the beginning, to keep himſelf on "the ſceptical ſide . . . that he very willingly ac- "knowledged, that his antagoniſt had detected many "miſtakes, both in his authorities and reaſonings, "and that advantage had been taken, in that edition, "of his learned animadverſions, and the eſſay had "been rendered leſs imperfect than formerly."

This

This diſſertation by Mr. Wallace, does not indeed contain any very ſound principles (for it was publiſhed at a time when the true principles of population were unknown), but it contains ſome uſeful and curious reſearches.

Mr. Wallace afterwards, in 1761, publiſhed an anonymous work, entitled, *Various proſpects of mankind, nature, and providence*, which has been ſpoken of very favourably by Dr. Price.

The four firſt eſſays which it contains treat of the defects of ſociety, and of their remedies. Mr. Wallace propoſes *the model of a perfect government, not for a ſingle nation only, but for the whole earth.*

A perfect equality amongſt all the citizens; a community of goods; moderate and equal labor to all the members of the ſtate; certain ſeaſons for amuſement: all children to belong to the ſtate: a public education; a diviſion into little ſtates; a mutual correſpondence; a univerſal language;—ſuch is in groſs the plan of Mr. Wallace(15), which, he thinks, may be

(15) Hume has entitled one of his eſſays, *The idea of a perfect common-wealth*. This tract, which is infinitely ſuperior to that of Mr. Wallace, would have had much more ſucceſs, if the ſame author's hiſtory of England, which is charged with partiality, infidelity, and a bias to arbitrary notions, had not prejudiced the public againſt the principles of this fine

be executed at the epoch of ſome violent criſis; or at the preſent moment, by the foundation of a new colony of Europeans, or, finally, by the ſlow and gradual, or by the ſudden and miraculous, interpoſition of providence.

Mr. Wallace believes, that ſuch a government would not only prevent that inequality, which is the ſource of ſo many evils, and that total want of principle, which now diſgraces mankind, but that it would even temper and ſubdue all human paſſions. He foreſees no other inconveniences which could reſult from his project, than the exceſſive population which it muſt occaſion. "What a miſerable cataſtrophe," exclaims he, "of the moſt generous of all human "ſyſtems of government! How dreadfully would "the magiſtrates of ſuch common-wealths find "themſelves diſconcerted at that fatal period, when "there was no longer any room for new colonies, and "when the earth could produce no further ſupplies! "What expedient could be found out to remedy ſo "great an evil? In ſuch a cruel neceſſity muſt there "be a law to reſtrain marriage? Muſt there, &c. &c."

The

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fine writer. To me, notwithſtanding, it appears unqueſtionable, that in this, and in ſome other of his eſſays, Hume has proved himſelf a friend to liberty. It is, however, remarkable, that this philoſopher has not, in his idea of a perfect common-wealth, ſaid a word about education, except where he makes a feeble alluſion to our univerſities and our religions.

The author's imagination kindles to ſuch a degree, that he can diſcover no other remedy to this fatal exceſs of happineſs, than war and death. This idea afflicts and diſcourages him. He no longer entertains any hopes from the moſt perfect Utopian ſyſtems, whether ancient or modern. He abandons them all, and deſpairs of mankind.

Alas! let us but have peaceful and proſperous governments, though they be imperfect (for nothing perfect will ever be the work of man); and let us enjoy ſecurely a long interval of peace and happineſs, ere the fatal period ſhall arrive, when the world ſhall be overſtocked with inhabitants. Perhaps this good man, for ſuch his writings, which every where breathe a ſpirit of philanthropy, juſtice, and peace, prove him to have been, would have diſmiſſed his fears, if he had reflected, that almoſt three quarters of the globe are ſtill uncultivated, and promiſe ſubſiſtence during many thouſand centuries to the greateſt poſſible increaſe of population:—that, in all probability, the preſent ſtate of agriculture does not approach ſo near to the higheſt conceivable degree of its perfection, as the firſt efforts of ſavage man, tearing up the earth with his nails, do to the progreſs already made in agriculture; and that, were the enlarged underſtanding and improved faculties of man, capable of forming a perfect government, he would doubtleſs diſcover ſome innocent means of preventing the problematical evil of too crowded a population.

At the concluſion of the peace of 1762, when certain projectors adviſed the Engliſh miniſters to leave the French in poſſeſſion of Canada, in order that they might check the too rapid increaſe of the Engliſh colonies, the celebrated Dr. Franklin obſerved, "It is a "modeſt word, this *check*, for maſſacring men, wo- "men, and children; and for all the other horrors "of war." It was being very far-ſighted indeed, to feel ſo ſoon the neceſſity of checking the exceſſive population of the Engliſh colonies. "But," continues this great man, with that Socratic ſimplicity which is the peculiar characteriſtic of his writings, "if it "be after all thought neceſſary to check the growth "of our colonies, give me leave to propoſe a method "leſs cruel. It is a method of which we have an "example in ſcripture. The murder of huſbands, "of wives, of brothers, ſiſters and children, whoſe "pleaſing ſociety has been for ſome time enjoyed, "affects deeply the reſpective ſurviving relations: "but grief for the death of a child juſt born is ſhort, "and eaſily ſupported. The method I mean is that "which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when "the infinite increaſe of the children of Iſrael was "apprehended as dangerous to the ſtate; and Pha- "raoh ſaid unto his people, behold the people of the "children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we; "come on, let us deal wiſely with them, leſt they "multiply, and it come to paſs, that when there falleth "out any war, they join alſo unto our enemies and "fight againſt us, and ſo get them up out of the "land:—and the king ſpake unto the Hebrew mid-

" wives, &c. Exodus, chap. I. Let an act of par-
" liament then be made, enjoining the colony mid-
" wives to ſtifle, in the birth, every third or fourth
" child. By this means you may keep the colonies
" to their preſent ſize. And if they were under the
" hard alternative of ſubmitting to one or the other
" of theſe ſchemes for checking their growth, I dare
" anſwer for them they would prefer the latter(16)."
They ſeem to have found out a much better.

But to return to Mr. Wallace. In the 5th, 6th, and 9th ſections of his work, he attacks the ſyſtem of Maupertuis, who, in his eſſay on moral philoſophy, maintains that, in this world, the ſum of evil is greater than that of good; an opinion, which has always appeared to me to be unjuſt, cruel, and untenable, and which that metaphyſician has not been able to temper any otherwiſe than by his extravagant diſcovery of the leaſt quantity of action. Did Maupertuis then imagine, that he could conſole mankind for the pains which they endure, and for the evils which their vices bring upon them, by teaching them an inſignificant truth, relative to the laws of motion?

It is not by dint of geometrical truths, were they as ſublime, as that, which Maupertuis claims the honour

(16) See *The intereſt of Great Britain conſidered with regard to her colonies, and the acquiſition of Canada and Guadaloupe*, printed among *The political, miſcellaneous, and philoſophical pieces* of Dr. Franklin. London, 1779, p. 197.

of having diſcovered, is trivial(17), that reaſon can be improved and ſtrengthened, the ſenſations of pain ſoothed,

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(17) Maupertuis is not one of thoſe philoſophers who diſdain to propound common truths in emphatical language. His great principle of the leaſt quantity of action, which he thinks ſo much of, that rare diſcovery of which he boaſts with ſuch diverting modeſty, amounts to nothing more than this:

There is no motion without a cauſe. No motion requires more than an adequate cauſe. No motion can exiſt with leſs than an adequate cauſe; but where there is a ſufficient impulſe, motion will inſtantly take place. It will therefore be cauſed by the ſlighteſt force, or the leaſt action poſſible, ſince the moment there is a ſufficient impulſe, the motion takes place, and every greater impulſe is ſuperfluous.

No great effort of genius undoubtedly was neceſſary to diſcover theſe admirable axioms. It is wonderful that in the eighteenth century, they ſhould have been publiſhed as diſcoveries, and ſtill more wonderful that a man of Maupertuis's abilities ſhould think he had diſcovered in them a ſtronger proof of the exiſtence of God, than that which is drawn from the wiſdom obſervable in the order of the univerſe, and in the creation of ſenſitive and thinking beings. He falls completely into the error which he imputes to other philoſophers, of attaching more conſequence to their proofs than they actually deſerve. His pretended diſcovery is a mere trifle, or a paralogiſm, which neither does, nor can prove any thing. It is a truth as common, as that two and two are equal to four, or, that a balance will preponderate by the ſmalleſt increaſe of weight in either

ſoothed, their effects counteracted, and the ill impreſſion, which they might make upon moral ideas, prevent-

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either ſcale. The proof which he rejects, ſuch as that of final cauſes, of the deſign, power, and wiſdom, which appear alike in the general conſtruction of the univerſe, and in that of its ſmalleſt parts, and above all in the formation of intelligent beings, is on the contrary very ſtrong and concluſive; but it is not ſet off with the learned ſolemnity of geometry, and therefore ſeemed to him leſs ſtriking. Geometricians are great lords, who are very proud of their liveries. But it is more eſſential to ſee whether the materials, of which they are compoſed, be good. The materials of good reaſoning, in every ſcience, are metaphyſics. But ſound metaphyſics are not always the endowment of geometricians; and in the work to which I here allude (his *Eſſai de Coſmologie*) the coſmological part is ſenſible, but familiar to all the world: the metaphyſical part is in the higheſt degree contemptible.

If any thing can be conceived more ridiculous than the importance which Maupertuis gave to his pretended diſcovery, it is the diſpute which it produced, and the artleſs ſimplicity of Kœnig, believing that in truth ſome diſcovery had been made, claiming the honour of it for his maſter Leibnitz, and becoming the martyr of his ridiculous claim; and, on the other hand, the indignant rage of Maupertuis, who, to preſerve the honour of having diſcovered the leaſt poſſible quantity of action, exerts all the powers of his preſidentſhip, which, in Pruſ-

ſia,

ed. The author of the SYSTEME DE LA NATURE would say "what imports it to me, that Mauper-"tuis is a good geometrician, if he be a deſpotic and "mercileſs preſident, and if I be obliged to live in "his academy? A beneficent man is, in my opinion, "much more eſtimable, than a being who is learned, "but cruel." Maupertuis's philoſophy has a worſe tendency than that of making men atheiſts; it tends to make them impious, diſcontented, and rebellious againſt the decrees of heaven.

To the pains of the body oppoſe its pleaſures, which, if they be not all equally intenſe, are infinitely more numerous, and occupy an infinitely longer period, not only in our lives, but in the lives of all ſenſitive beings. Balance the account; and, if it appear that, every thing conſidered, the condition of every living thing is good, that the ſufferings even of the moſt wretched of beings are not equal to his enjoyments, what becomes of all the declamation which has been employed upon the evils which afflict the world?

To what a degree does pride vitiate men's judge-ment! Let us not admire, ſay they, and even the wiſeſt

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ſia, is an inferior office of ſtate, to expel poor Kœnig out of the academy. Is it then the fate of all men, from the learned geometrician, and the profound profeſſor of me-taphyſics, down to the unlettered grenadier, to deſtroy one another for the mereſt trifles, of which they have not ſo much as a diſtinct idea?

wiſeſt of them—let us not admire, for it is detrimental to us. Or, upon a different occaſion, let us admire, for it is our intereſt . . . . Nay, my good friends, forget, I beſeech you, your intereſt for once, and admire, ſimply, becauſe there is reaſon for admiration.

Ye atoms of a day, how ſtrange is your preſumption! You really believe yourſelves to be the monarchs, and the final cauſe of the univerſe. For you the earth bears her fruits, animals have exiſtence, and the heavenly bodies are in motion. The dog-ſtar was created (ſo you are preſumptuous enough to believe, and to maintain) that it might add one glimmering taper to the illumination of the night; and the innumerable ſuns which compoſe the galaxy, that they might gratify your ſight. Your proud imagination deſtines every thing to your uſe; even the ſupreme God of the univerſe, which it dooms to be born, and to be ſacrificed, at its pleaſure.

Endued with reaſon by God, do not imagine him ſo deſtitute of that faculty, as to have thus laviſhed the productions of his omnipotence, merely for one of the fraileſt of his works. The poſition of your globe, the limits ſet to your faculties, the evils with which all your joys are daſhed, ought all to convince you that you are not the monarchs of the univerſe, nor even the moſt favoured of God. You have no right to claim ſuch a diſtinction. Be not elevated with pride; but at the ſame time be not ſunk with meanneſs. You are reſpectable citizens of one of the

ſmalleſt cities of that immenſe empire which is called the univerſe. He, who fixed your ſtation, has made it an honourable one, and better for thoſe of your ſpecies, than any which you know or can conceive. You are bound to be grateful to him, becauſe he has diſpenſed to you more good than evil, and has given you infinitely more moments in which you enjoy life, than in which you deſire death.

But that benevolence which he has exerciſed in your favour, and for which you ought to proſtrate yourſelves at the foot of his throne, has not extended itſelf to you alone. It has been ſhed profuſely over all thoſe beings who were capable of feeling it; and we know not where, in the great chain of beings, that happy property terminates. We behold it in animals which differ from ourſelves only in ſome degrees of perfection. We may conclude that it exiſts to ſome extent in plants to which even affections have not been refuſed. Whether it extends further, we do not know; but, at leaſt amongſt thoſe beings whoſe ſenſibility is not doubtful, we ſee that each feels for itſelf, that each is indebted to that ſenſibility for a thouſand pleaſures, and that each is endowed with organs proper for its preſervation, and with an intelligence, which, being incapable of judging of any other faculties than thoſe which belong to its own ſpecies, muſt conceive a high idea of its own importance. We cannot tell to what degree bees, ants, and beavers, and perhaps animals leſs

intelligent

intelligent than theſe, may think they have a right to deſpiſe us.

There is great good ſenſe in the fable of the companions of Ulyſſes, who, when transformed into beaſts, refuſed to become men again; and in the fiction of Voltaire, in which mice, ducks, turkies, aſſes, men and angels are introduced, each ſpecies boaſting ſeparately *that all was made for them*, while God declares, THAT HE CREATED EVERY THING FOR HIMSELF.

This obſervation only ſhould be added, that, at the ſame time that God created every thing for himſelf, he created every thing too for others; and that ſtrange deluſion, which makes not only every ſpecies prefer itſelf to all others, but every individual of every ſpecies be averſe from becoming any other than itſelf, is not one of the ſmalleſt diſpenſations of his bounty. I have ſeen many people envy the fortune of the Marquis de Brunoy, but none, that ever would have accepted his fortune, to be the diſcontented, ſtupid, reſtleſs Brunoy himſelf. Maupertuis would not have been king of Pruſſia, and the king of Pruſſia would not have been Maupertuis. My reader would not, any more than myſelf, be either the king, or the philoſopher; and he who diſdains our philoſophy would be ſorry to exchange ſituations with us. The porter, who carries our burthens, and the labourer, who toils in our vineyards, would not, for the ſake of our eaſe, ſacrifice their vigour and encounter our cares. Every

man

man is therefore, upon the whole, contented with himſelf and with his ſtation, though every man ſeeks to improve his ſtation, according to the means which he poſſeſſes; and of thoſe means no man is entirely deſtitute.

If, inſtead of conſidering the world as our dominion, where every thing that does not happen to pleaſe us ſeems to be wrong, we would only conſider it as that which it really is, a ſpacious inn, where every gueſt may be provided with all the neceſſaries, and even all the comforts of life, by paying his quota; where there are lodgings at every price, becauſe every thing muſt find its place there, from man, and from beings of a ſuperior order, quite down to the oyſter, and even to animals of the loweſt claſs; we ſhould not blame the maſter of it, who ſeeks to pleaſe all his gueſts alike, and who cannot prevent ſome from being a little incommoded in the crowd by their neighbours. Man has, of all beings, the leaſt right to complain of this reciprocal inconvenience; becauſe, with his more enlarged faculties, he, more than any other being, torments his fellow creatures, and all other animals. The number of ſerpents which have been deſtroyed by men, is much greater than that of men who have been killed by ſerpents. That reptile too never wounds but in his own defence, while ferocious man murders for his amuſement. Serpents then would deſpiſe the philoſopher, who maintains that thoſe things, which appear to us to be hurtful, are out of their place in the great order of the univerſe; or, at beſt, they would ſay, that man, who leaves no other

creature

creature at reſt, ought to be exterminated from the animal creation.

But the ſerpent would be wrong, as well as the philoſopher. The world is not to be eſtimated according to the intereſt of any individual, nor even according to the intereſt of any ſpecies: but every ſpecies and every individual finds, in the laws of the univerſe, and in its own faculties, the means of purſuing its own advantage with effect. That what produces the good of all, is the greateſt poſſible good, is a truth which no man of ſenſe ought to conceal from himſelf. The dangers which ſurround us are deſcribed and exaggerated, while our numerous pleaſures are paſſed over in ſilence. Our miſery is proclaimed: our happineſs is forgotten. The world, it is ſaid, diſplays more vices, crimes, and ſufferings, than virtues and enjoyments. But this cannot be true: for the world ſtill endures, and ſocieties ſtill ſubſiſt. Whereas, if the evil that affects us were greater than the good, we ſhould ſoon be annihilated. If there were not more men who reſpect the rights of others, than who violate them, more fathers who educate, than who expoſe their children, more wives and huſbands who cheriſh, than who torment each other, more children who love and reſpect, than who abandon their parents, more men ready to ſuccour, than to deſtroy their fellow creatures, we ſhould ſoon periſh by each other's hands, and our ſpecies could not exiſt for two generations. But it has exiſted till now: it has multiplied: it has even enlarged its dominion, at the ex-

pence

pence of other ſpecies: it ſtill multiplies. There exiſts then more good than evil, eſpecially to man; and it would be a baſe ingratitude indeed, in the moſt enlightened of the human ſpecies, were they to affect an ignorance of the good which they enjoy, and were they negligent in pointing out that good to others.

If theſe reflections be a *uſeleſs* digreſſion, I am to blame in publiſhing them: but, if it be deſirable, that this reſigned philoſophy, which unfortunately is too ſimple to flatter the ſelf-love of thoſe who conſtitute themſelves the inſtructors of mankind, were univerſally adopted, this note will need no apology, even though it be a digreſſion.

Mr. Wallace, in the five laſt ſections of his work, vindicates providence upon the ſyſtems of free-will and neceſſity, and maintains the doctrine of a future life.

He is certainly a very eſtimable philoſopher. His views indeed are not extenſive; his ſtyle is diffuſe, and his manner common; but his works will always be read with profit.

IV.

On the chapter upon commerce, p. 190, *&c.*

THE wiſeſt and moſt important piece of advice, given by Dr. Price to the Americans, is to diſtruſt and diſcourage, inſtead of favouring and inviting, foreign commerce.

commerce. I have enforced his ideas with that warmth, which invincible conviction naturally produces. I have, however, rejected all prohibitions, as infringements of that liberty, which ought to ſpread its ſacred pavilion over every ſpecies of commerce, as well as over every individual: but I have not been able to expreſs, in ſo narrow a compaſs, the innumerable reflections, which the ſingle word *commerce* excites in my mind. I will take the liberty however to add a few obſervations on the ſtrange confuſion of ideas and expreſſions, on the immenſe number of abſurd miſtakes and chimerical deluſions, which a paſſion for commerce has diſſeminated among nations. Look at England—where commerce and trade are better underſtood than in any other country in the world; and where one would expect their effects and influence to be the moſt ſtudied. Behold what a delirium, what a phrenſy, agitates the ſtateſmen of that calculating and thinking nation, whenever commerce, its intereſts, and its ideal or actual benefits, come in queſtion!

The following obſervations have been printed in France, in a periodical work, on the tables publiſhed in the well-known book of Sir Charles Whitworth, entitled *A ſtate of the trade of Great-Britain in its imports and exports progreſſively from the year* 1697; *alſo of the trade to each particular country, during the above period, diſtinguiſhing each year.*

Theſe tables, the author tells us, are taken from the accounts given in to the houſe of commons every year

year by the proper officers. If the old cuſtom-houſe liſts were thus digeſted and publiſhed in every civilized country, we ſhould probably derive much information from the particular reſults, and the compariſon of them. This would at leaſt draw ſome benefit from an inſtitution, certainly very ancient and very general, but the utility of which, at the preſent day, ſeems at leaſt very problematical to a great number of ſpeculators.

Nothing can be more dazzling than the object placed by Sir Charles Whitworth before the eyes of his countrymen, as the ſum total of his tables. Near five hundred and ſeventy-four millions of imports, upwards of eight hundred and forty-one millions of exports, conſequently two hundred and ſixty-eight millions ſterling gained by the balance of trade. Theſe calculations deſerve our attention.

But firſt we muſt divide this great ſum into ſeventy-ſix parts, to have the average reſult of each year, ſince the author includes a period of ſeventy-ſix years. We ſhall find about three million five hundred and twenty-four thouſand pounds ſterling gained annually by commerce.

At the firſt view of this calculation, a Frenchman would naturally exclaim; behold how commerce enriches ſtates! England alone gains upwards of three millions and a half ſterling every year by the balance of trade.

Before we implicitly grant the conſequences, which ſeem to flow from this firſt impreſſion, let us examine whether we may not be deceived by ſome miſtakes and erroneous repetitions, which may have crept into theſe tables.

For inſtance, when we ſpeak, in England, of the nation, we mean not merely England properly ſo called, but likewiſe Scotland, Ireland, and the ſurrounding iſlands, of Jerſey, Guernſey, Alderney, the Iſle of Man, *&c.* together with the Engliſh ſettlements in Africa and America. Are the advantages gained by the merchants of London, and other Engliſh trading towns, from the Scotch and the Iriſh, and thoſe formerly and ſtill gained by them from the American provinces and iſlands, a benefit to the Britiſh dominions? This may well be doubted. For the power of England is compoſed of the ſtrength and wealth of the three kingdoms; and all the different countries ſubject to the crown of Great Britain are members of the ſame body.

If any of our writers were to print a view of the commerce of France, as Sir Charles Whitworth has done of England, and were to take Paris and the Iſle of France for a central point, as he has taken London, and England properly ſo called; if he were to make a column diſplaying its active and paſſive commerce with Normandy, Picardy, Brie, Champagne, Burgundy, Orléanois, Beauce, and all the other more diſtant provinces, Poitou, Brittany, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny,

Alſacia,

Alſacia, Flanders, jumbled together among foreign nations and the French colonies in the three other quarters of the globe, I have little doubt, but that the ſum total would exceed the Engliſh balance by many thouſand millions of our money. But the nation would not be a jot the richer, nor the king more powerful.

For which reaſon, I am ſurpriſed to ſee inſerted in the two hundred and ſixty-eight millions ſterling, which the nation is ſaid to have gained ſince the end of the laſt century, nine million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling gained from Ireland, which makes the tenth article of the general table; near ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling gained from the little iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney, which form nos 21, 22, and 23; near a million ſterling on the linen ſent to the Britiſh colonies, no 46; and a very large ſum on the other articles of trade for the ſame colonies; which alone take up almoſt the whole general table from no 24 to no 60. This ſum amounts to about forty-five millions ſterling.

All this may well ſurpriſe us: for, in whatever point of view it be conſidered, the gain made by ſome provinces, at the expence of other provinces in the ſame empire, will certainly contribute neither to the riches nor to the power of the ſtate, to which they belong: it is taking money out of the left hand, and putting it into the right: and this is a conſideration, of which we ought never to loſe ſight. Beſides, is it ſo very clear, as the author wiſhes us to imagine, that

the

the exceſs of the value of the exports over the imports, is always ſo much clear gain to a country? To me it ſeems very doubtful.

The Engliſh themſelves at this day allow, that they have made large advancements for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the American colonies. Theſe advancements ſhould conſiſt of a large quantity of goods exported, and given, not ſold, by England to America; goods, which conſequently run up to a very conſiderable amount in the table of exports, without any thing to balance it in that of the imports.

Theſe advancements, which ſince 1697 muſt have exceeded forty-five millions ſterling, have probably enriched the Engliſh, pretty much in the ſame manner as an individual would be enriched by buying an eſtate very dear, which he ſhould afterwards loſe, together with the purchaſe-money, and the coſts of an expenſive law-ſuit.

So that Sir Charles Whitworth, in this inſtance, has moſt probably ſet down as received, what has actually been paid, and has reckoned money, fooliſhly expended, as clear gain. At all events, the error will create a difference of double the ſum. In fact, between throwing away and gaining forty-five millions ſterling, there is a difference of ninety millions ſterling.

Another article in his general table ſhould have made him ſenſible of this error; I mean that of *Gibraltar*, which is the ſeventeenth. In the column

entitled *Balance in favour of England*, there are twenty-eight million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, under this article of *Gibraltar*; that is to ſay, that upwards of twenty-eight millions and a half, in goods or ſpecie, have gone from England to Gibraltar more than have come from Gibraltar to England. Nothing more likely. But how can this be adduced to prove a balance in favour of England?

If all the rocks of Gibraltar had been brought to England, and ſold there by the ton at a very high price, they would hardly have produced twenty-eight millions ſterling. What poſſible infatuation could induce this gentleman to believe that his country had gained theſe twenty-eight millions from this barren mountain? It is clearly money expended.

One very important truth, however, this table certainly does prove; namely, that England has laid out about twenty-eight millions ſterling, to keep Gibraltar. This expence, merely in ſupporting the balance of trade, ought to be ſubtracted from, inſtead of being added to, the gain. The difference is upwards of fifty-ſeven millions and a half ſterling.

You have already upwards of a hundred and forty-ſeven millions ſterling to deduct from two hundred and ſixty-eight millions ſterling. Behold two more articles of the ſame ſort. Firſt, in the ſuppoſed balance of two hundred and ſixty-eight millions in favour of England, are compriſed ninety-ſix millions ſterling, in gold and ſilver ſpecie, ingots, plate, or jewels,

jewels, exported; which are found in the cuſtom-houſe books; becauſe metals of value pay a duty on exportation.

England has neither gold nor ſilver within herſelf. Therefore theſe ninety-ſix millions ſterling had been imported from abroad. They are not to be found in the cuſtom-houſe books, becauſe they pay nothing on importation. Sir Charles Whitworth admits this, and allows the amount to be deducted.

The laſt article for our conſideration is that of the prizes taken by the Engliſh from other nations in time of war. Theſe amount to about ſeven millions three hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand pounds ſterling, ſince the end of the laſt century. The author, in placing the value of the prizes in the column of receipts, ought ſurely to have placed what they coſt in the column of expences. I do not mean the whole enormous expences occaſioned by the wars which authoriſed theſe captures, but at leaſt the expences of building and fitting out the privateers, and the value of the Engliſh veſſels taken in repriſal(18).

(18) This is not exact—an error having been occaſioned by Sir Charles Whitworth's confuſion in the valuation of the prizes. In his table, ſhewing the ſtate of the prizes, are two columns, one of the imports, another of the exports; part of the wealth taken from the enemy having been conſumed in England, and part abroad; ſo that the remark is not

Let us then ſee the reſult. From a balance of two hundred and ſixty-eight millions ſterling in favour of England, by means of errors, and articles twice reckoned, it will probably be found neceſſary, for the above-mentioned irrefragable reaſons, to deduct about two hundred and fifty millions and a half ſterling.

There will remain ſeventeen millions and a half ſterling, gained by the balance of trade; but gained in the courſe of ſeventy-five or ſeventy-ſix years, that is to ſay, about two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling gained every year. Let us now make two obſervations.

Firſt, that the territorial revenue of the provinces which compoſe the Britiſh empire, the net produce of the lands, deducting the expences of their cultivation, certainly amounts to upwards of twenty-five millions ſterling a year, taking into conſideration the ſum devoured by taxes, as well as the clear produce to the land-owners.

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not correctly true. But the numerical reſult of this inaccurate obſervation makes no eſſential difference in the general calculation. Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that the principal object of my note is to prove THE ABSURDITY OF CALCULATING THE SUM GAINED BY THE BALANCE OF TRADE BY THE EXCESS OF THE EXPORTS.

The proportion, then, of the produce of commerce to that of agriculture, even in England, is only as TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND to TWENTY FIVE MILLIONS, *i. e.* as ONE to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT: yet, in balancing their reſpective intereſts, the landed intereſt and agriculture are ever ſacrificed to thoſe of commerce; and when our modern writers ſpeak of the riches and power of England, one would think that commerce compoſed the ſum total, and agriculture was a cypher in the account.

And theſe two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, this pretended balance of trade, how are they acquired? By prohibitions, by excluſions, by a ſyſtem of mercantile intolerance and uſurpations, ſupported by five or ſix great naval wars, and by keeping up a formidable and ruinous fleet.

England has contracted a debt of upwards of one hundred and thirty four millions ſterling. The citizens of every condition pay taxes to the annual amount of upwards of five millions two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, merely to diſcharge the intereſt of this debt. Though every one of them ſhould have a ſhare in the two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds a year gained by commerce, which may well be doubted, as far as reſpects the mere huſbandmen and land-owners(19), it would, notwithſtanding, fol-

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(19) According to the lateſt calculations, the poor's tax in England amounts to three millions ſterling; and this

low as a conſequence, that they had purchaſed two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds a year for the price of one hundred and thirty four millions ſterling, and a yearly payment of five millions two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling. This is my ſecond reflection.

Theſe reſults, which well deſerve the attention of every ſtateſman, and of every good citizen, make Sir Charles Whitworth's book, and the tables it contains, of infinite value.

For a century paſt, this mercantile policy has been deſolating, and deluging with blood the four quarters of the globe. The balance of trade has been thought the *ſummum bonum:* and no cruelty has been ſpared to ſecure a portion of the treaſures, which it was expected to produce.

Such then is the real produce of the balance of trade to that nation, which our political empirics have cried up as the great object of emulation and envy.

Strip this balance of all its chimerical appendages; ſtrike out the repetitions and errors; and ſee how much

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this ſum is not enough to ſubſiſt the crowds of beggars, that are to be found in the wealthieſt nation in Europe. So true it is that commerce enriches but a very ſmall number of citizens. See the *Sketches of the hiſtory of man*, Vol. II. p. 45, &c.

much ſcience and wiſdom are neceſſary to ſacrifice, perhaps, a million of men, and one hundred and thirty four millions ſterling, to procure to the merchants, who dwell among you, about two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds a year, clear gain, to divide among each other.

This reſult of TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING FOR THE ANNUAL BALANCE OF TRADE IN FAVOUR OF ENGLAND (20) may ſound ſtrangely

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(20) I know, and by no means wiſh to conceal, that Sir Charles Whitworth's work has in England never been conſidered in any other light, than as a copy of the cuſtom-houſe tables; and that their induſtrious editor is not, among his countrymen, of very high authority. There are numberleſs errors, which might be pointed out in theſe tables, and which make ſome for, and ſome againſt his hypotheſis.

The inſtance I am going to adduce is ſomewhat extraordinary. Smuggling, that ſpecies of commerce, which is produced from the war of prohibitions; that ſalutary commerce, which retards the fall of empires that are devoured by taxes, ſmuggling, I ſay, is never once taken into the account! is totally omitted in a calculation of the balance of the Britiſh commerce! The ſingle article of tea would amount to an immenſe ſum. The brandy, and other ſpirituous liquors that are ſmuggled not only from abroad, but even from Scotland, are beyond calculation. It is

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ſtrangely in the ears of ſtock-exchange and mercantile politicians; ſo ſtrangely, that moſt of the Engliſh calculators

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the ſame with tobacco. The ſugar, which is exported to receive the drawback, and which is ſmuggled back into the kingdom, to receive from the conſumer the full price of ſugars which have paid the duty, is another very conſiderable object.

Sir Charles Whitworth neglects another conſideration, of no ſmall importance. The value of the Engliſh imports is calculated with a view to England, and not with a view to the countries where the commodities imported have been purchaſed. Conſequently the imports are valued after the freight, commiſſion, inſurance, &c. But the exports are valued as they are found in the warehouſes at the Engliſh ports, free of all charges; and theſe charges are, perhaps, a tenth, or even a fifth part of the whole value of the exports, which, therefore, ſhould be deducted from the balance.

There are other equally capital deceptions in theſe tables. In particular, the balance of trade with the Engliſh Antilles deſerves no credit. The exports from Jamaica are often not above one half, a third part, or even a quarter of the imports. And the reaſon is obvious: the land-owners reſide in Europe, where they ſpend in that proportion the produce of their plantations. Jamaica is only half of the Engliſh iſlands. The ſame remark is applicable to the other half.

With reſpect to Ireland, he commits an error of a contrary kind, but full as palpable. A great number of Iriſh reſide

calculators will ſhrug up their ſhoulders, rather than endeavour to anſwer it. Here, however, is its anſwer; and

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reſide in Great-Britain, who are ſuppoſed to ſpend in that kingdom about a million ſterling *per annum*.

The men, clothing, proviſions, and ſtores neceſſary for the fleets, forts, and garriſons of the Engliſh, in the different quarters of the world, form a very abſurd and exaggerating addition to the tables of the exports. Sir Charles Whitworth puts them down as gains. But theſe immenſe expences are ſo far from being clear profits, that it muſt at leaſt be very doubtful, whether they be repaid by the advantage of the places garriſoned or victualled; and even by the returns of commerce from thoſe places in time of peace.

Are the exports, abſorbed by Africa for the purchaſe of negroes, a benefit, in the eyes either of policy, or of humanity? What ſhall we ſay to the Eaſt-Indies? If the commerce of importation be unfavorable in the Engliſh ſyſtem, why does the Britiſh nation laviſh her exertions and treaſure, to deluge with blood a country into which ſhe imports infinitely more than ſhe exports from thence; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, in which ſome of the principal of theſe imports turn into a rivalſhip with the induſtry of Great Britain? I cannot tell, whether ſhe be preparing for the apparently imminent and inevitable loſs of India: but I ſhould much doubt that ſhe will have any thing which ſhe can reaſonably lament on that ſcore, except her own conduct in that country.

and perhaps the conſequence, which naturally and neceſſarily flows from it, is worthy of ſome ſlight attention.

	£.
Let the annual exports of England be -	12,000,000
Let the raw materials coſt the nation - -	4,000,000
The gain by the labour is - - - - -	8,000,000

If England were to employ this ſum total of eight millions ſterling in paying for the importation of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, then would her induſtry be directed to the uſeful end of ſupporting 1,200,000 citizens from foreign ſupplies. This would be the *acme* of her proſperity; and yet ſhe would have no pecuniary balance in her favour; and that would be the very reaſon why ſhe would then enjoy the greateſt poſſible happineſs.

So that it is an idle ſpeculative idea of narrow-minded commercial writers, to calculate the balance of trade in our favour, by THAT EXCESS OF OUR EXPORTS OVER OUR IMPORTS, that exceſs being in fact a loſs.

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One might make a volume of obſervations, in details of this nature, upon Sir Charles Whitworth's tables: but I never meant to undertake a review of his work. I have only mentioned it in this note, for the purpoſe of attacking, by a ſtriking inſtance, the abſurdity of the prevailing notion, of calculating the profits of trade by the exceſs of the exports over the imports.

The true, and the only balance of trade in favour of a nation, conſiſts in a circumſtance which is obvious to the view of every man of diſcernment, in ſupporting by its induſtry, on proviſions brought from abroad, a ſixth part of its inhabitants, in a country otherwiſe inſufficient for that purpoſe.

So extravagant are the ideas entertained about the BALANCE OF TRADE, that the Engliſh, and the commercial ſtock-jobbers in general, wiſh to have A LARGE BALANCE OF MONEY REMAINING; whereas commerce is of no uſe to the nations, who have occaſion for it, except in proportion, as, with an induſtry carried to its utmoſt extent, THEY HAVE NOT A FARTHING OF MONEY REMAINING AS A BALANCE.

So that England, in gaining TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING by her induſtry, is not only neither leſs happy nor leſs wiſe, than if Sir Charles Whitworth's calculation of THREE MILLIONS AND A HALF STERLING were realiſed; but ſhe is even FOURTEEN TIMES AS WISE AND AS HAPPY.

And, indeed, if, by the balance of trade, ſhe had accumulated three millions and a half ſterling every year for a century, as Sir Charles Whitworth ſuppoſes, ſhe would now poſſeſs, over and above her native coin, if I may uſe the expreſſion, three hundred and fifty millions ſterling. And, alas! what induſtry would

would ſhe then exert? How many guineas would it now coſt to poliſh a ſteel button at London? How would England be able to diſgorge theſe torrents of gold? Then would this dazzling, this eſtimable, this ſo many ways reſpectable nation, but which ſeems to have hitherto had no ideas of the bleſſings of peace, be obliged to excite and cheriſh wars for the ſake of unburthening itſelf from ſuch an intolerable weight of gold, which would deprive it of activity and of life. Then would all the kingdoms of the world be forced to league together, for the purpoſe of effacing it from the book of life, as the common enemy of every other people, and unable to ſubſiſt without bloodſhed.

RARA *LOCORUM* FELICITATE, QUA SENTIRE QUÆ VELIS, ET QUÆ SENTIAS DICERE, LICET. *Tacit.*

THE END.

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